THE KRAMA TANTRICISM OF KASHMIR

VOLUME-I



NAVJIVAN RASTOGI

THE KRAMA TANTRICISM OF KASHMIR

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Historical and General Sources

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VOLUME I

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To

My Teacher

DR. K.C. PANDEY



SWAMI MUKTANANDA

BLESSING

Each doctrine has its own philosophy and technique to attain the highest truth. All philosophies aim at the same goal—realisation of the Absolute. A seeker is concerned with the attainment of the truth. He may follow any technique but the important thing is that he reaches the state of equality where he sees and experiences the Oneness of everything in the world. I hope the way shown in *Krama Tantricism of Kashmir* will help seekers to realise that goal.

SWAMI MUKTANANDA

PREFACE

Perhaps the author owes an apology for publishing a work on the Krama system which has not been, unfortunately, noticed by any traditional author of the available compendia like the *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* etc. It is rather equally curious to see the modern studies on the Indian philosophy in general and Tantricism in particular turn totally apathetic to such a system of philosophy barring a few honourable exceptions. The latter include the second edition of Dr. K.C. Pandey's study on Abhinavagupta incorporating a chapter on the Krama system and discussing the same in broad outlines. In addition, one has one or two paragraphs from M.M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj on the same briefly dwelling upon some or its major aspects. (Vide his Preface to the Second edition, *Tripurā Rahasya, Jñāna Khaṇḍa*, p. iii., *Tāntrika Vāṅmaya me Śākta Dṛṣṭi*, Prastāvanā, p. 4.)

It augurs well that the studies on the Kashmir Śaivism as well as on Tantricism have come to gain slightly greater momentum since Woodroffe first undertook to enter the forbidden land. Yet it is unfortunate that dearth of analytical thinking coupled with detailed exploratory investigations into specific fields remains a constant handicap of a modern student. The net result is that a great deal of the Śaiva, Śākta and Tantric wisdom is now lost to us and many of their important theses now look completely strange. M.M. Dr. G.N. Kaviraj in his recently published work *Tāntrika Vāṅmaya me Śākta Dṛṣṭi*, (Prastāvanā, p. 4) gives an eloquent expression to it : "क्रमतत्त्व, स्पन्दतत्त्व, पादुकातत्त्व, भासातत्त्व प्रभृति का विवेचन, साधन तथा दर्शनशास्त्र के क्षेत्र से एक प्रकार से निर्वासित हो चुका है। क्षोभ तथा कलन का रहस्य भी इसी प्रकार अपरिचित रह गया है।" In this context due stress may be laid on the fact that the concepts of Krama, Pādukā, Bhāsā and Kalana exclusively belong to the Krama system.

it was feasible, in the specific frame-work of the Tantric discipline. This work is intended basically to serve as a groundwork for the future studies of the Krama system and allied Śaiva Tantricism of Kashmir.

In works of such a type as this it is practically impossible to do away with obscurity of expression, more so on account of the occult language and esoteric phraseology in which the system is couched, apart from the author's own limitations. The indulgence of the reader is craved for any incovenience he is put to in this behalf.

It is difficult to lay claim to absolute originality in regard to an indological study like this, but it will be worth-while to draw attention of the reader to the new ground covered by the author.

In the first place, the author has ventured to touch upon an almost neglected area of Kashmir Śaivism in general and Tantricism in particular.

In the second place, the author has utilized the opportunity to go through all published texts on the Kashmir Śaivism as well as the Krama system. He has also tried to utilize a large number of important manuscripts on the system which would be testified to by the bibliography appended to this work as well as the profuse excerpts from them given throughout the work. The author has also sought to lay his hands upon all relevant historical as well as literary texts. Moreover, the author has also taken due cognizance of relevant literature in original, belonging to other Tantric cults, specially Tripurā, having anything in common with the Kashmir Śaivism and the Krama system. It may, however, also be pointed out that the author has done his best to go through all the available secondary literature, whether published or unpublished, known and accessible to him on the Kashmir Śaivism and other cognate Tantric schools.

In the third place, the author has essayed the task of reconstructing the history of the Krama system—not considering the chronology of the authors or works only, but tracing out the historical and logical growth of the Krama notions as well —in the larger context of the history of the Kashmir Śaivism. Besides, virtually discovering quite a few of the Krama authors

such as Gandhamādana, Siddhanātha, Cakrapāṇi, Devabhaṭṭa, Ramyadeva, Loṣṭhadeva, Śrīvatsa, Somaputra, Ananta Śaktipāda and Bhaṭṭāraka, the Krama associations of the known Spanda and Trika authors have also been brought out. These include the famous Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Kṣemarāja, Varadarāja, Jayaratha, Śivopādhyāya and a host of others. Some already established dates and genealogical relationships have been re-examined in the light of fresh material and additional collateral evidence. In this connection the dates of Śivānanda—the first preceptor, Varadarāja, Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja, Cakrabhānu, Maheśvarānanda deserve particular mention. Similarly on the basis of a new interpretation of the terms Ātmaja and Santati parental ties between Somānanda and Utpala and those between Utpala and Lakṣmaṇagupta have been rejected and preceptorial relationships re-affirmed instead. These modifications will go a longway in determining the final course of the history of Kashmir Śaivism yet to be reconstructed fully by future scholars.

In the fourth place, the author has tried to reconstruct the precise Krama metaphysics, its answer to various philosophical problems and the basic values that have permeated the length and width of its spiritual approach. The author has also attempted to determine the place of Krama in the compact whole of Kashmir Śaivism and evaluate its positive contribution. It has also been pointed out how the Krama developed along two basically different lines under the impact of Northern and Southern schools, if such a loose expression be permitted to be used, and how they conditioned the entire growth of the Krama philosophy.

In the fifth place, the work refers to many texts including manuscripts for the first time and makes extensive use of a number of them. The two *Mahānaya Prakāśas*, one of unknown authorship (attributed to Śivānanda II by us) and the other of Sitikaṇṭha, the *Bhāvopahāra* of Cakrapāṇi and its gloss by Ramyadeva, and the *Krama-stotra* of Abhinava are among the printed texts that have been studied for the first time. In addition to numerous manuscripts, the MSS of the *Chummāsaṁpradāya*, *Kaulasūtra*, *Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka*, *Śaivāṣṭakakośa* have been

thoroughly studied and frequently drawn upon for exposition of various Krama theses.

In the sixth place, a study into the philosophical infrastructure of Kashmir Śaiva Tantricism has been made with particular reference to Abhinavagupta's twin phrases, "Tantra Prakriyā" and "Kula Prakriyā" and an effort has been made to understand as to why the Spanda system was excluded from the general scheme of the *Tantrāloka*. It is in this connection that the difference between the Spanda and the other cognate systems of Kashmir has been highlighted from traditional Tantric point of view. It is in a similar vein, again, that an effort has been made to evaluate the role that the concept of Pratyabhijñāna (re-cognition) has played in determining, shaping and reconstructing the vital epistemic and metaphysical issues of Kashmir Śaivism as and when contrasted with similar ones in other systems of Indian philosophy.

In the seventh and final place, an examination of the other systems of Indian thought particularly those of Buddhism and Bhartṛhari has been brought to bear upon the logical development of the important Krama concepts of the Absolute (as Kālī), the supreme Absolutic function (Anākhyā), the progressive character of mundane existence as logical construction (Vikalpa), and sixfold Yogic discipline are shown to have been highly indebted to the corresponding notions of Kālaśakti, Śūnya, Śabdapūrvayoga, Apohana and Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga respectively.

This work was originally submitted to the Lucknow University for the award of the Ph.D. degree under the title, "The Philosophy of Krama Monism of Kashmir : An Analytical Study", during the session 1967-68, in which year the University was pleased to approve the thesis for the award. The thesis, even at that time, contained two parts—one historical and the other analytical, which are now being printed separately. The work has been subjected to thorough modification and improvement since then in the light of the material published and discovered till date. The rationale behind changing the original title to the present one lay partly in the author's earnest desire

to be in consonance with the spirit of the greatest exponent of the system, Abhinavagupta, who himself placed the Krama system under Tantra-prakriyā as the forthcoming chapters will reveal and partly in the modern scholarship's growing craze for the Tantric studies.

The author must acknowledge his indebtedness to Prof. R. N. Dandekar, the doyen of indological scholars, for his unstinted cooperation during the author's stay at Poona and to the other authorities of B.O.R.I., Poona as well as those of Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow who allowed him to make copious use of the Manuscripts in their possession He is duly grateful to Pt. Dinanath Yaksha, the then Head Pandit of the Sanskrit Section, Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar not only for allowing the author to study manuscripts at the Research Department but also for lending him a few precious manuscripts from his personal collection. The specific reference will be found in the work at proper places. He is immensely thankful to Sri B.V. Dwivedi of the Tantra Department, Sanskrit University, Varanasi for enabling him to have a peep into the contents of his press-copy of the *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, since published, which he was then engaged in editing. Messrs Bhavasar of B.O.R.I. and Juyal of the Sanskrit Parishad deserve special mention for graciously helping the author go through the texts in the original Śāradā characters.

The author is immensely thankful to Dr. Satyavrat Singh, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University and the Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Varanasi under whom the author had the privilege of working both as a research student and as a member of the staff. The author is highly indebted to Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow and Sanskrit (Varanasi) Universities for sparing his valued time for discussing Bhartṛhari with him and presenting to him off-prints of some of his valuable papers duly mentioned at appropriate places. He is at a loss for words in thanking M.M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, the doyen of modern scholars in Indian philosophy and Sanskrit studies, who proved to be a constant source of inspiration to the author. The

author is beholden to Dr. R.C. Dwivedi (now Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Jaipur University), who initiated the author into Śaivite studies, for his constructive interest in the academic advancement of the author. The author is earnestly thankful to Drs. J.P. Sinha and A.K. Kalia, both of the Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University, in whom he found his benefactors. The author acknowledges with gratitude the interest taken by Thakur Jaidev Singh, a well known name in the field of Kashmir Śaivism, in the publication of this work. He is also deeply appreciative of Prof. Vidya Niwas Misra, Director K.M. Munshi Institute of Hindi & Linguistics, Agra for his continued encouragement to the author. The author would record his profound appreciation of his esteemed friend Dr. Harsh Narain, Department of Indian Philosophy and Religion, B.H.U. for his valued assistance in many forms. The author's gratitude to him is a matter of feeling and not of expression.

The delay in publication enabled the author to revise the typescript once again and to incorporate additional material wherever necessary. The author wishes to voice his earnest appreciation of the interest evinced by the publishers M/S Motilal Banarsidass. But for constant demands of their energetic directors, Mr. N. Prakash Jain and Mr. J.P. Jain, the publication of the work, that too in such a nice get up, might have been delayed further. In this connection he has all admiration for M/S Ram Lal and D.P. Gupta, who prepared the typescript for the press in a relatively short period. The author cannot help remember the debt he owes to his wife Dr. Sudha Rastogi, Ph.D., who not only proved to be a constant source of inspiration in the hours of distress but also prepared all the indices in the book. The author likes to express his admiration for the help rendered by his two research students i.e., Km. Meera Rastogi in correcting the proofs and rearrangement and finalization of indices and Sri M.R. Yadava in rearrangement of some of the indices.

This book is appearing in the Abhinavagupta Institute Research Publication Series. This Institute has been founded and named after Abhinavagupta, the great savant of Kashmir Śaivism and Indian Aesthetics, by the author's teacher, the late Dr. K C. Pandey—Founder and the then Honorary Director

of the Institute. The author expresses his deep sense of gratitude to him who not only made the manuscripts in his possession available to the author but continued to maintain a sustained interest in the progress of the work. This book is humbly dedicated to him as a token of gratitude and respect.

Lucknow,
15th August, 1978

NAVJIVAN RASTOGI

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CHAPTER SIX

SOURCES AND LITERATURE 82—248

A reconstructive study of Krama history and an analysis of the entire known as well as extant Krama literature with special reference to its authorship, historicity, availability, classification, subject-matter and chronology

ABBREVIATIONS

Abhi.	*Abhinavagupta : An Historical and Philosophical Study.*
ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AIOC	All-India Oriental Conference.
A.L.	*Ānanda-laharī.*
A.S.V.	*Alaṁkāra-sarvasva-vimarśinī.*
B.A.L.	*Bulletin of the Adyar Library.*
Bhās.	*Bhāskarī.*
Bhās. (V).	*Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī* (published with *Bhāskarī*).
Bh.G.S.	*Bhagvad-gītārtha-saṁgraha.*
B.S.	*Brahma-sūtra.*
B.S.S.	*Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Aur Sādhanā.*
B.U.	*Bhāvopahāra.*
B.U.V.	*Bhāvopahāra-vivaraṇa.*
C.A.	*Comparative Aesthetics.*
Cat.Cat.	*Catalogus Catalogorum.*
C.G.C.	*Cid-gagana-candrikā.*
C.G.C. (Comm).	*Cid-gagana-candrikā* with the commentary called *Divyacakorikā.*
Ch.	Chapter.
Ch.U.	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*
C.O.L.	Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.
Contribution.	*Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature.*
C.S. (MS)	*Chummā-sampradāya* (Manuscript).
DCSMCOL	*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Curator's Office Library,* Trivandrum.
Dh.L.	*Dhvanyāloka-locana.*
D.S.	*Dārshanika Traimāsika.*
Fn.(s).	Footnote(s).

G.K.	*Gauḍapāda-kārikā.*
G.L.	*Garland of Letters.*
G.N.P.	*Guru-nātha-parāmarśa.*
G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series.
H.V.	*Haravijaya-mahākāvya.*
I.P.K.	*Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā.*
I.P.V.V.	*Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī.*
JOR	*Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
K.K.V.	*Kāma-kalā-vilāsa.*
K.M.	Kāvya-mālā.
K.N.P.	*Krama-naya-pradīpikā.*
K.S.	*Krama-stotra* (by Siddhanātha).
K.S.(A).	*Krama-stotra* (by Abhinava).
K.S.S.	Kashmir Sanskrit Series of Texts and Studies.
M.	Maheśvarānanda
M.M.	*Mahārtha-mañjarī.*
M.M.P.	*Mahārtha-mañjarī-parimala.*
M.P.(S).	*Mahānaya-prakāśa* (by Śitikaṇṭha).
M.P.(T)	*Mahānaya-prakāśa* (TSS, attributed to Śivānanda II).
MS(S)	Manuscript(s).
M.V.T.	*Mālinī-vijayottara-tantra.*
M.V.V.	*Mālinī-vijaya-vārttika.*
N.S.	Nirnaya Sagar Press
N.T.	*Netra-tantra.*
N.T.V.	*Netra-tantra-vivṛti (Uddyota).*
P.Hṛ.	*Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya.*
P.K.S.	*Paraśurāma-kalpa-sūtra.*
P.L.L.	*Philosophy, Logic and Language.*
P.P.	*Paryanta-pañcāśikā.*
P.S.	*Paramārtha-sāra.*
P.S.S.V.(MS)	*Paramārtha-sāra-saṁgraha* (Manuscript)
P.S.V.	*Paramārtha-sāra-vivaraṇa.*
P.T.L.V.(MS)	*Parā-triśikā-laghu-vivṛti (lāsaki-vivaraṇa)* (Manuscript).

P.T.V.	*Parā-triṁśikā-vivaraṇa.*
R.T.(*Raj.T.*)	*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī.*
Ś.Dṛ.	*Śiva-dṛṣṭi.*
S.E.	Saptarsi Era.
Ś.K.(MS)	*Śaivāṣṭaka-kośa* (Manuscript).
S.L.	*Saundarya-laharī.*
Ś.K.C.	*Śrīkaṇṭha-carita.*
Ś.S.	*Śiva-sūtra.*
S.Su.	*Sārasvatī-suṣamā.*
Ś.S.V.	*Śiva-sūtra-vārttika* (by Bhāskara).
Ś.S.V.(V)	*Śiva-sūtra-vārttika* (by Varadarāja).
Ś.S.Vi.	*Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī.*
Ś.T.(*T*).	*Śāradā-tilaka* (*-tantra*).
Ś.T.V.	*Śāradā-tilaka-vivṛti* (*Padārthādarśa*).
S.V.	*Saubhāgya-vardhinī.*
Ś.St.	*Śiva-stotrāvalī.*
Ś.St.V.	*Śiva-stotrāvalī-vṛtti.*
Sec.(s):	Section(s).
Short Review.	*A short review af the Research Publications* (*Kashmir State*).
Sp.K.	*Spanda-kārikā.*
Sp.K.V.	*Spanda-kārikā-vṛtti.*
Sp.N.	*Spanda-nirṇaya.*
Sp.P.	*Spanda-pradīpikā.*
Sp.S.	*Spanda-Sandoha.*
St.C.	*Stava-cintāmaṇi.*
St.C.V.	*Stava-cintāmaṇi-vivṛti.*
Sv.T.	*Svacchanda-tantra.*
Sv.T.V.	*Svacchanda-tantra-vivṛti* (Uddyota).
T.A.	*Tantrāloka*
T.A.V.	*Tantrāloka-viveka.*
T.R.(*J.Kh.*)	*Tripurā-rahasya* (*Jñāna-khaṇḍa*).
T.S.	*Tantra-sāra.*
T.S.S.	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
T.V.D.	*Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā.*
V.	Verse Number.
Vāk.	*Vākyapadīya.*
V.Bh.	*Vijñāna-bhairava.*

V.Bh.V.	*Vijñāna-bhairava-vivṛti* (*Uddyota*).
V.M.	*Vāmakeśvarīmata.*
V.M.V.	*Vāmakeśvarīmata-vivaraṇa.*
V.S.	*Vātūla-nātha-sūtra.*
V.S.V. (*V.N.S.V.*)	*Vātūla-nātha-sūtra-vṛtti.*
Y.H.	*Yoginīhṛdaya.*
Y.H D.	*Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā.*
Y.S.	*Yoga-sūtra.*
Y.S.B.	*Yoga-sūtra-*(*Vyāsa*)*-bhāṣya.*

CHAPTER I

KRAMA AS A DISTINCT SYSTEM

A brief analysis of the features that lend an independent status to Krama as a system of thought.

1. *Krama : A system of Śaiva philosophy in its own right*

While sharing much in common with the Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems of Kashmir Śaiva monism, the Krama system has much of its own to justify its recognition as an independent system of philosophy. The phrase Kashmir Śaivism generally stands for the Pratyabhijñā system, whereas in fact it has a much wider application comprising as it does all the monistic trends of Śaivite speculation having their home in Kashmir. In spite of the fact that all these systems have common fundamental data since they spring from the same source of Śaiva philosophy, they retain their intrinsic individual genius and appeal. In consequence, when a system is presented in its own merit, the idea is not to decry its integral character under a wider perspective, but to emphasize and analyse its real worth and significance. It is in this sense that the Krama system, despite its close affinities with the sister trends of thought, claims recognition as a system of philosophy.

2. *Traditional recognition of its independence*

Historically as well, Krama has been regarded as an independent system. Maṅkha in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* mentions Mahānaya, another name of Krama, as a distinct philosophical school where the act of creation[1] follows that of withdrawal,

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1. प्राङ्निग्रहं विरचयन्वपुषः स्वरूपं पश्चादनुग्रहदृशा च दिशन्नशेषम् ।
य: सर्गसंहृतिविपंचनमक्रमेण चक्रे महानयविदां प्रथमः स्मरस्य ॥

S. K. C. 5.40

Jonarāja observes—

यतो महानयविदां दर्शनज्ञामाद्यः । तस्मिन्दर्शने हि संहारानन्तरं सृष्टिः ।

Comm. on *S. K. C.*, p. 69.

implying that the Krama system ardently adheres to the cyclic notion of Reality. This allusion to Krama in a literary work of the eleventh century is a sufficient proof of the popularity of the Krama school, even beyond the philosophical circles, in Kashmir. Abhinavagupta recalls the same fact in unmistakable terms in the *Mālinīvijayavārtika*.[1] In the *Tantrāloka* also this very fact has been reiterated.[2] In his *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* Jayaratha talks of the Krama system to be an independent one.[3] The treatment of the Krama system in the fourth Āhnika has been prefaced by him with a similar remark.[4] It is significant to note that in the last autobiographical verse, marking the conclusion of his *Viveka*, he declares 'Trika' and 'Krama' as two different systems.[5] The author of the *Mahānaya-Prakāśa* clearly stresses its individuality[6] and independent status among the varied schools of philosophy.[7] Maheśvarānanda, too, does

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1. अतिमार्गक्रमकुलत्रिकस्रोतोऽन्तरादिषु ।

   M. V. V. 1. 192.

2. अथ यथोचितमन्त्रकदम्बकं त्रिककुलक्रमयोगि निरूप्यते ।

   T. A. 30.1.

   Also see, मया स्वसंवित्सत्तर्कपतिशास्त्रत्रिकक्रमात् ।

   T. A. 1. 106.

   Jayaratha remarks—

   क्रम: चतुष्टयार्थ: । समाहारेऽयं द्वन्द्व: ।

   T. A. V., I, p. 150.

3. एता एव द्वादशापि संविद: ...क्रमदर्शनादौ अन्वर्थेनापि अभिधानेन दर्शिता: ।

   Ibid., II, p. 235.

   Also cf. तदत्र क्रमनयसमानकक्ष्यत्वविवक्षायास्...

   Ibid., III, p. 189.

   इह क्रमदर्शने...*Ibid.*, p. 190; न केवलमेता: क्रमदर्शनावेवोक्ता यावदस्मन्नयसहोदरेषु शास्त्रेष्वपि । *Ibid.*

4. तदेव चेदानीं विभज्य दर्शयन् क्रमनयसोदरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति ।

   Ibid., p. 157

5. ...त्रिकदृशि क्रमार्थे...

   Verse 47, *T. A. V.*, XII, p. 435.

6. क्रमे सर्वज्ञपर्यन्तं प्रत्यक्षा कापि या स्थिता ।

   M. P. (T). 7.130.

7. कुलकौलादिकाम्नायशाक्तत्रिकमतादिषु...व्यापको हि महानय: ।

   Ibid., 1.30-31.

   महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्वयवादिन: ।

   Ibid., 7.26.

not forget to record his appreciation of the Pratyabhijñā and the Krama as two separate systems[1] even when he means to pin-point their common characters.[2]

3. *External evidence establishing its individuality*

Apart from the unanimous verdict of the Krama authors, there is external evidence also which establishes its independent status. It differs from other systems in point of its origin, its history, and its literature. Just as the Pratyabhijñā has its first preceptor in Somānanda, the Trika in Vasugupta, and the Kula in Macchanda, the Krama has the same in Śivānanda. The Krama system is further distinguished by the place of its origin. Its very conception took place in Kashmir, while all others somehow or the other, with the exception of the Spanda system, were imported into Kashmir by their preceptors or descendants and followers thereof.

4. *Main Features*

We, however, have to distinguish between what others say of it and what the system says of itself. A brief account and comparative analysis of its salient features are attempted here to substantiate its unique character.

(a) *Krama as a Śakti-oriented and Tantric system*

The Krama system at the outset appears to reflect a systematic emergence of the Śākta tendencies in the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir.[3] As such it gives rise to many interesting developments and leads to many adjustments in the history of the Krama thought. The most important of such developments is the split of the system into two schools, one having its accent on the supremacy of the Śiva aspect and the other on the Śakti

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1. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्लाससर्वस्ववेदी ।
Verse 10, *M. M. P.*, p. 2.

2. अनेन श्रीमहार्थत्रिकदर्शनयोरन्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रथेति व्याख्यातम् ।
M. M. P., p. 96.

3. Śitikaṇṭha adds a similar remark—इत्थं सर्वत्र कुलदर्शनेषु शाक्तो योऽन्तःक्रमेण उदयः स्थितः स एव तत्तद्भूमिकानुभवविशेषैः चक्रचरीरूपमास्थितैः संस्थानविशेषेण पूजितैः स्वरूपप्रथोन्मीलनाय चर्याक्रमेणापि क्रमार्थं उपासितव्यः ।
M. P, (*S*)., p. III.

aspect of the Supreme Consciousness.[1] Thus, while all other systems including the Kula, Pratyabhijñā and Trika of Kashmir Śaivism are Śiva-oriented, the Krama is Śakti-oriented.[2] The Spanda system is an exception in the sense that it marks the transition between the two ideologies. But, at the same time, it has a natural leaning towards Śakti, the dynamic aspect of Reality. The important distinction beween the Spanda and the Krama lies in the fact that while the latter is a Tantric system, the former is not. It is perhaps the reason why Abhinavagupta, in his *Tantrāloka*, deals with the Krama system under the Śāktopāya as a distinct system of thought and does not accord a separate treatment to the Spanda school, though it (*the Tantrāloka*) is full of references to and extracts from the Spanda authors and works.[3] The fact that the Pratyabhijñā has secured a separate treatment under the Anupāya in the *Tantrāloka* unlike the Spanda, the latter approximates to the former in respect of metaphysics rather than mysticism and

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1. Likewise, the Kula and Tripurā too are known to be different systems, but in fact they complement each other with the difference that while the Tripurā lays stress on Śakti, the Feminine aspect, the Kula on Śiva, the Masculine.

2. It may not entirely be out of point to connect this tremendous emphasis of the Śakti aspect with the spiritual activity undertaken by the female preceptors. The importance of the role played by the female teachers may be assessed from the fact that the system is said to have originated from the mouth of the Yoginīs (lady ascetics) योगिनीवक्त्रसंभूत. It is difficult to establish a "cause and effect" relationship between the Śakti-orientations and early preachings by female ascetics, yet it is a factor to be reckoned with. We have tried to deal with this phenomenon while disscussing the tantric character as well as the historical development of the system. This may, however, be taken as a practical translation of the theoretical orientation.

3. Howsoever strange it may appear, it is important to note that Abhinavagupta who wrote so profusely and copiously on almost all the matters relating to Kashmir Śaivism did not write a single independent work bearing on the Spanda branch. This fact has been noticed by Kṣemarāja. Vide,

   अनन्तापरटीकाकृन्मध्ये स्थितिममृष्यता ।
   विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ॥
   Sp. N., p. 77 (concluding verse No. 2).

esotericism.[1] On the contrary, the Kula and the Krama, both being Tantric in origin and form, are more mystic than metaphysical. Yet, with all their differences they constitute together what is precisely meant by monistic Śaivism of Kashmir.

(b) *Leaning towards monistic-dualistic character of Reality : its implication and consequences*

Another aspect which distinguishes the Krama system from other associate schools is its proneness towards the monistic-dualistic character of Reality at the pre-realization stage. As a spiritual discipline it has been specially designated as Bhedābhedopāya in order to bring out the importance it attaches to the idea of dualism or diversity within the general framework of monism or unity. The Krama system in the above role does not seek to confuse or mix up the two polarities (duality-cum-unity) but instead, unearths unity in the phenomenal duality as its intrinsic character (unity in duality—Bhede abhedaḥ).[2] In other words the Krama is more closely connected with the immanent reality and interprets immanence as an essential expression of transcendence. Against this, the Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems are immediately concerned with reality as unity (abheda) or the transcendental aspect of Reality. Whenever there appears a difference in the systems it is only the difference of approach or the general outlook. Even when the Bhedābhedavādin (in practice) is a real monist (in theory), he justifies the individuality of his approach by his utmost tolerance towards the other cognate systems.[3] It eschews its dogmatism in this respect. In fact, the Krama system regards both duality and non-duality as irrelevant, since such a concept of Reality cannot be anything but relative. As a consequence, the system is very very critical of the concepts of Bandha

1. In incorporating the Pratyabhijñā as an inalienable part of the basic plan of the *Tantrāloka* Abhinava was possibly motivated by its enormous metaphysical value. Because it is the notion of Pratyabhijñāna (recognition) that is the most significant single constituent of all the monistic Śaiva systems of Kashmir.

2. Cf. Pt II, Ch. I under "The Defining Features of Śāktopāya" etc. and "Multiplicity of Approaches : A Special Feature".

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, under "The Krama versus Other Systems" etc.

(fetters) versus Mokṣa (freedom).[1] Thus the Kula system prohibits the rituals and the Siddhānta Śaivism advocates them. But the Krama and the Trika systems look upon the concepts of prohibition and injunction or negation and predication as external to the nature of Reality.[2]

(c) *Spiritual progression and mokṣa as synthesis of bhoga and mokṣa : Key features*

Moreover the definition of the Kula and Krama systems in terms of Śāmbhavopāya and Śāktopāya is enough to focus their mutual points of difference and agreement. This point will be discussed on the occasion of the study of the Krama system as Śāktopāya.[3] It is however, necessary to remember that the Pratyabhijñā and the Kula do not subscribe to the idea of spiritual progression. But, the concept of spiritual progression is the very life-blood of the Krama system and its theory of the refinement of the thought-constructs (Vikalpa-saṁskāra). The very term Krama denotes what is called spiritual progression. Similarly the term Kula (i.e., an organic whole) justifies its nomenclature by its non-adherence to the theory of Vikalpa and succession in self-realization. Thus the tantric ideal of self-realization as synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa, better termed as Bhoga-mokṣa-sāmarasya, is realizable in the Krama system alone.[4] It is solely the Krama system which by virtue of its

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Krama Concept of Liberation — A Synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa".
2. इह पुनः परमाद्वयरूपे त्रिकदर्शने तद्विधिना तन्निषेधेन वा न किंचित् प्रयोजनम् ।
   T. A. V., III p. 286.

   Cp. निषेधविधितुल्यत्वं शाक्तोपायेऽत्र चर्च्यते ।
   T. A. 1, 290.

   See for details, Pt. II, Ch. I, under "Problem of Purity and Impurity in Relation to Consciousness".
3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Defining Features of Śāktopāya".
4. एतदेव ह्यस्य दर्शनान्तरेभ्यो वैशिष्ट्यं यत् भोगमोक्षद्वितयानुभूतिसामरस्यं नाम ।
   M. M. P., p. 137; also see p- 172

   Cp यत्परिज्ञानवशतो भवो भवति मुक्तिभूः ।
   M. P. (T). 7. 125.

theory of progressive refinement of Vikalpas lays equal emphasis on each and every step of self-realization as an embodiment of spirituality. The Kula and Pratyabhijñā are not opposed or averse to such an ideal, but they do not have proper scope for it, since they adhere to the concept of instantaneous and immediate self-revelation. The image of the Krama system becomes clear only when we see through its concept of the Sāmarasya of Dhāma-Varṇa (Name and Form) and Cit (consciousness).[1]

(d) *Absolutic functionalism : A signficant aspect*

In this context a minor but significant point, though not entirely relevant, may also be adverted to. The functionalistic doctrine of the Trika *i.e.*, five functions of the Absolute, has been adjusted suitably to the requirements of the Krama system. Thus the last two of the five Absolutic acts namely, Tirodhāna and Anugraha, have been replaced by Anākhyā and Bhāsā.[2]

(e) *Positive emphasis on the epistemic side of our experience*

Krama is a system with a positive epistemic bias. The epistemic undertones of the system form its special character and contrast it from the other systems.[3] It has just been noted that the Pratyabhijñā and Spanda Schools are more metaphysical in intent. And though the Kula and the Krama, in common, have esoteric and mystical appearance, it is the Krama that lays more positive emphasis on the cognitive and the epistemic

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1. मुद्रामन्त्रनिरीहाणां धामवर्णचिदात्मनाम् ।
अन्योन्याव्यभिचारेण सामरस्यादभिन्नता ॥
महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम् ।
यां विनापि नयस्यास्य वैलक्षण्यं न जायते ॥

M. P. (*T*). 7.129 and 135.

2. Cf. Pt. II. Ch. I, under "The Discovery of One's Potencies as a means to Self-discovery; Ch. III, under "The Relevance of the Present Treatment to Śāktopāya and its Metaphysics".

3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Defining Features of Śāktopāya" and "Jñāna Śakti's Bearing on Śāktopāya"; Ch. III, under "Core of the Problem with reference to Cognitive Processes Examined".

aspect. This is perhaps the basic philosophical value of the Krama as a system of philosophy.

(f) *Preference for Prākṛta and certain minor features*

A reference to another unique Krama phenomenon would not be out of place here. It is really a characteristic feature of the Krama school that it favours Prākṛta[1] in place of Saṁskṛta for the presentation of its tenets. There is positive evidence to show that works like the *Krama-sūtra*, both of the *Mahānaya-Prakāśas*, *Mahārtha-Mañjari*, *Chummā-saṁpradāya*, *Prākṛta-triṁśikāvivaraṇa* and works of a few other authors were written in some form of the Prākṛta or local vernaculars. Maheśvarānanda is the first authority who takes note of it. There is only one other Tantric system which also evinces a preference for the use of Prākṛta. But that is a Śākta system, not Śaiva, famed as Tripurā.[2] It, however, does not mean that the use of Saṁskṛta was rare and unusual. On the contrary, the bulk of the literature, presently available, is in Saṁskṛta. Likewise, a sweeping conclusion that the Krama had more popular appeal than other systems will probably be somewhat remote from truth. What is the possible source of such a phenomenon is a question that is proposed to be taken up in our study of the historical forces that gave the Krama a shape and a figure. Similarly the division of entire monistic Śaiva thought into two classes namely, Traiyambaka and Ardhatraiyambaka, will also be considered under our study of Krama's tantric character. In this connection it may be noticed that while Kula is considered to be the Ardhatraiyambaka, the Krama, Kula and Pratyabhijñā belong to the Traiyambaka category. The only justification for alluding to it here

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1. किंच, अस्मदुपास्यविद्यानुसंधाने प्रायः प्राकृतस्यैवौचित्यमुज्जृम्भते ।

M. M. P., p. 193.

2. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमगुरुभिः श्रीऋजुविमर्शिन्याम्......प्राकृतभाषाविशेषत्वाच्च यथासंप्रदायं व्यवहार इत्युपदेशः ।

Ibid.

But this has again to be noted that no work on the Tripurā, which is in Prākṛta, has come to our notice, whereas at least three of the above mentioned Krama works e.g., *M. P.* (*S*), *C.S.* (MS) and *M. M.* have come down to us.

lies in the nature of the present enquiry which particularly aims at projecting the individual character of the Krama system.

It should now be clear that internal as well as historical evidence is weighty enough to substantiate that the Krama is a system of tantric philosophy which merits a sincere consideration in its own right.

CHAPTER II

ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE SYSTEM

A study into the philosophical basis of the various names of the system and their significance

The Krama system is variously styled as Kramanaya, Mahārtha-naya etc., etc. Let us take each seriatim.

1. *Krama-Naya*

The first ever definite reference to the Krama as a system of philosophy, as we have already seen, is found in Abhinava. But it is rather amusing that he did not try to define the word symbolizing a particular system. It is Jayaratha who identifies it with the theory that confides in the fourfold functionalism of the Absolute.[1] This interpretation is not Jayaratha's own, but traditional one. For even before Abhinava, Utpala, popularly called Utpala Vaiṣṇava and a contemporary of his teachers, interpreted the term in traditional phraseology of Kramacatuṣka (fourfold succession).[2] This is borne out by a statement of Kṣemarāja who takes the word Krama to stand for the succession of the cyclic consciousness of emanation (Sṛṣṭi),

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1. क्रमः चतुष्टयार्थः ।

   T. A. V., I, p. 150.

2. एष एव अतिरहस्यक्रमार्थविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्वणविलापनरूपः क्रमचतुष्को क्रमोऽत्रैव युक्त्यैवोक्तः ।

   Sp P., p. 48.

   Similarly Śivānanda. the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, has nearly the same definition:

   सर्गावतारसंहाराः क्रमात्मानो व्यवस्थिताः ।
   अनाख्यमक्रममपि क्रमात्मैव तदाश्रयात् ।।

   M. P. (T), 9.19.

sustenance (Sthiti) and withdrawal (Saṁhṛti).[1] While explaining the words "Krama-mudrā" and "Mudrā-krama" from the *Krama-Sūtras* he also defines the word Krama in the context of the system. According to him, it is called Krama because it (i) causes emanation etc. to appear in succession (Krama) and (ii) itself constitutes the very nature of that (as well as their) successive appearance.[2] Hence Krama is the system that deals with such a phenomenon exclusively, all other aspects remaining subordinate to it. Let us consider in brief its precise bearing on the problem. One of the most basic tenets of the entire monistic Śaiva thought of Kashmir is its theory of the five acts of the Absolute, namely, Sṛṣṭi (emanation or emergence), Sthiti (sustenance), Saṁhāra (withdrawal or submergence), Tirodhāna (concealment), and Anugraha (dispensing grace). The functionalistic doctrine, in question, maintains that the Absolute is unceasingly busy in bringing about these five acts, be it phenomenal order of existence or the trans-phenomenal one. It is the unfoldment of his being. Therefore, those who always reflect upon this pentadic activity of the Godhead, knowing the universe as an unfoldment and expression of the essential nature of Awareness, never fail to attain perfection and realize their true self in this very life. Those, for whom the objective content of their experience does not partake of the godly essence, continue to remain under the binding influence of ignorance.[3] The greatest advantage of this theory consists in its distinguishing the Kashmir Śaiva monism from the Vedāntic one.[4] Now the Krama is the system that

1. अत्रायमर्थ: सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतिसंविच्चक्रात्मकं क्रमम्......।
Pr. Hṛ., p. 92
also cp. सृष्टिस्थितिलयानाख्याभासाशक्तिप्रसारणाद् ।......
सन्धानमान्तराम्नायाम्नातक्रमविमर्शनम् ॥
S.S.V. (*V*), 1.40-41.

2. क्रम: अपि सृष्टयादिक्रमाभासकत्वात् तत्क्रमाभासरूपत्वात् च क्रम इत्यभिधीयते ।
Pr. Hṛ., p. 94

3. यथा च भगवान् शुद्धेतराध्वस्फारणक्रमेण स्वरूपविकासरूपाणि सृष्टयादीनि करोति, तथा संकुचितचिच्छक्तितया संसारभूमिकायामपि पंचकृत्यानि विधत्ते ।......अत एव ये सदा एतत् परिशीलयन्ति, ते स्वरूपविकासमयं विश्वं जानाना जीवन्मुक्ता इत्याम्नाता: ।
Pr. Hṛ., pp. 62-63.

4. इह ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनस्य ब्रह्मवादिभ्य: अयमेव विशेष: ।
Ibid, *p*. 61.

specially builds on this theme.[1] So active has been its interest in the problem that the system saw the emergence of two divergent opinions with respect to the exact meaning of the word Krama. These theories later crystallized into what are known as Four-function (Catuṣṭayārtha) and Five-function (Pañcārtha) theories. We however refrain from entering into controversy except making some necessary references since the same has been enlarged upon in the sequel.[2]

Saṁvit or Awareness-reality itself is succession or Krama. Whether it is a process of empirical cognition or that of reflective meditation or cosmic emanation, it is Saṁvit that defines and undergoes the process of succession (Krama). This process of succession is also termed Mahākrama.[3] Owing to varying traditions the entire process might be said to entertain four[4] or five[5] phases. In the four fold scheme the fifth function namely, Bhāsā, is excluded while the fivefold scheme comprises all the acts. Whatever the case, these phases presuppose the cyclic notion of reality whose flow remains uninterrupted and uniform throughout. The genesis of numerical difference and successive phases lies in the intrinsic dynamism of the reality itself. The unitary flow appears to be divided due to the four acts that come in a succession. This divisive flow of the inherent

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under 'Rise of the Cycle of Awareness"; Ch. III, under "Anākhyā Cakra as Saṁviccakra and Śāktopāya".

2. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. III, under "Krama as Pañcārtha and Catuṣṭayārtha" etc.

3. ......विश्वमयी संवित् भासते ।......सा वक्ष्यमाणवर्त्मानुगुण्येन सर्वथा क्रमभाजनं भवति, स एव महाक्रम इति नयविद्भिर्गीयते ।

   M. P. (*S*), p. 39. Also see p. 41.

4. सृष्ट्यादिचतुष्टयमेव क्रमार्थत्वेन प्रतिज्ञायते ।
   इह नये चतुष्टयार्थपरिभाषा प्रतिज्ञाता इति महाक्रमश्चतू रूप एव ।

   Ibid., p. 43. Also see *M.M.P.*. p 86.; cp. pp. 63, 98.

5. इति क्रमार्थ एव पंचधा परिभाषितः ।
   ततश्च षट्सु पूज्यतया श्रीपंचार्थक्रमावमर्शः ।

   Ibid., cp. also *M. M.P.*, p. 3.

dynamism itself constitutes the Krama or succession.[1] Sometimes the place of the godly function is annexed by the godly potencies with little material effect on our stand.[2] The conception and structural niceties of the Saṁviccakra can only be explained with reference to this definition of the Krama and its implications, too, regarding the cyclic idea of reality resulting from its dynamic character. Because the twelve Kālīs are the epistemic-metaphysical-mystic transformation of the fourfold (or fivefold) functionalism with regard to the object, subject and means of knowing or the first three acts,[3] in epistemic and cosmogonical settings respectively. This provides the proper context where the Krama system brings the real synthesis between the successive process of cosmic emergence and the trans-successive monistic principle — the primal origin of the ensuing succession. Unity and continuity of the absolutic (and hence subjective) dynamism can be realized only when the seeming gaps between the discrete modes viz., creation etc., of the absolutic manifestation are conserved and transformed into the real links that not only join but build the synthetic whole. This is done by tracing out the inner unity that pervades all these functional cycles. It is why the one, who has developed an intuitive insight into the essential character of the succession characterising the cyclic movement of the absolutic agency, earns a claim to emancipation during one's lifetime.[4]

1. भेदैश्चतुर्भिरेकस्यां शक्तौ यत्क्रमणं क्रमात् ।
   सृष्टिस्थितिलयानाख्यैः स क्रमः परिकीर्तितः ।

   M.P. (*S*). p. 45.

2. एकस्य चित्प्रवाहस्य क्रमभेदः स्वगोचरे ।
   इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाभिर्यः क्रमार्थः सोऽभिधीयते ॥

   M.P. (*S*) p. 45.

3. The first three acts, like Pañcārtha and Catuṣṭayārtha, may be designated as Tryartha (त्र्यर्थं). This is possibly suggested by the following extract:—
   खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भगौ यस्त्रिपंचविसराश्रयो क्रमः ।

   C. G. C., 4.113.

4. इत्थमेतत्क्रमपरामर्श एव स्वात्मविमर्शरूपो जीवन्मोक्षः ।

   M. M. P., 109.

   See for detailed discussion, Pt. II, Ch. I, under "Mutua relationship of the five cycles and conclusion"; Ch. III, under "Two Relevant Sub-features of Liberation."

The Krama has been further defined, under the spell of the Kashmir Śaivism in general, in terms of time (Kāla) and has been doubly designated as Kālakrama[1] as well as Kāla.[2] Kālakrama is a tautological expression because in its verbal analysis it is rendered as the succession called time (Kālākhyaḥ Kramaḥ) and not as succession of time (Kālasya Kramaḥ). The Krama as time is responsible for the manifestation of total objectivity and absence thereof.[3] It rather partakes of such a manifestation or non-manifestation as the case may be. In all fairness, it must be admitted that the present definition is not meant to explain the Krama's special status as a system of Śaiva monism.[4] The sole underlying idea is to expatiate upon and account for the phenomenon of succession in our routine experiences ranging from the microcosmic level to the macrocosmic one, and also how the discrete units coming in a series flow from the non-dual supra-sequential source. Because it is the objective world that is characterised and determined by succession and not the Absolute. In the context of the absolute reality the word Kāla would not mean simple sequential time, but creative time, the potential for the emergent reality of emanation.[5] Hence the interpretation of the

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1. कालक्रमात्मा कथितः क्रमश्चान्योन्यवर्जनात् ।
नैवं काचित् प्रतीतिः स्याद्विविधांशाभभेदतः ॥
M. P. (T). 9.28

2. दर्शितक्रमविभागसंभ्रमं कालमद्यतनमत्तुमीहसे ।
C. G.C. 1.22

3. कालो भावानामवभासनानवभासात्मा क्रमः ।
M. M. P. 50

4. We know of at least one tantric effort that tries to give an esoteric explanation. It, however, has no intrinsic worth, for the entire jargon transpires to interpret it in terms of Kāla-krama.

Cf. क्रकारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मंगलो भवेत् ।
क्रोधे तु मंगलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥
गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानम्, आज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।
क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ॥
Quoted from the Krama-siddhi, *M.M.P.*, 109.

5. अतश्चायं देवः ... पौर्वापर्यादिविकल्पकल्पनामयेन क्रमेण नाक्रम्यते । ... यतो वैश्वात्म्यैकविजृम्भासंरम्भोत्तरे भगवति...कस्य कस्मात् पृथक्त्वं तद्हेतुकः क्रमश्च । ...कालस्य तत्त्ववृत्त्या क्रमतयैव पर्यवसानात् ।
M. M. P., p. 136

[contd.

term Krama signifying temporal (as well as spatial) succession has received our attention in the context of Kālī, the supreme metaphysical, ontological and mystic principle.[1]

We now come to the third definition of the Krama offered by certain quarters of the system itself. Accordingly, the word Krama may be employed in two different ways e.g., the relative as well as the absolute. As a relative expression it calls for its counter-entity (Pratiyogin) in Akrama (trans-sequential) and signifies a particular phenomenon of our experience. In the phenomenal realm when the different operations of our cognitive apparatus and psychoses are directed to the grasp of external multiplicity, the whole situation is reckoned as Krama. Likewise, when the phenomenal level is transcended by diverting the same mechanism towards the trans-phenomenal, non-dual, undifferentiated reality, everything is automatically realized in its essentially trans-sequential character. This phenomenon is designated as Akrama.[2] On the other hand, as an absolute expression the word Krama stands for the same 'Akrama' reality which remains always continuous,

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contd.]
कालः सूर्यादिसंचारस्तत्तत्पुष्पादिजन्म वा ।
शीतोष्णे वाऽथ तल्लक्ष्यः क्रम एव सतत्त्वतः ॥

I. P. K. 21.2

1. See Pt. II, Ch. II.

2. भिन्नप्रथात्मिका यावद्वृत्तयो बहिरास्थिताः ।
विषयाहरणोन्मुख्यास्तावत्क्रम इति स्मृतः ॥
तदुत्तीर्णे परे यत्र चिदचिद्भेदवर्जिते ।
महाव्योम्न्यद्वयतया सर्वो भात्यक्रमस्तु सः ॥

C. S. (MS.), p. 12

Cp. पृथक्पृथक्स्वकार्यस्था यावत्तिष्ठन्ति देवताः ।
तावत्क्रमकृता संज्ञा विद्यते नान्यथा पुनः ॥
एकीभावतया सर्वमनाख्यायां यदा स्थितम् ।
अक्रमस्तु तदा ज्ञेयः प्रोत्तीर्णः सर्वतो यतः ॥

Quoted from an *Āgama*, *T. A. V*, III, p. 132.

Be it noted that the expression Devatāḥ stands for the Karaṇeśvarīs. It is peculiar Krama notion which visualizes the sense-organs, both external and internal (Karaṇas), as forms of the respective divinities in the Krama parlance.

eternally potential, self-subsistent immediate and indeterminate.[1] It is this reality that constitutes the supreme ideal of the Krama doctrine and marks the terminus of the entire spiritual adventure advocated by the system.[2] In the Krama works yet another use of the word Krama is encountered as denoting some form or act of worship or ritual.[3] But such a contention is presently irrelevant and wide off the mark.

Thus the main accent of all those attempts, that dwelt on the Krama as a specific system, appears to have been on the *modus operandi* of the principle of awareness (Cit-Krama). By fully appreciating the course and process adopted for the manifestation and realization of self we are made to fathom the inner depths of consciousness i.e., Reality *per se*. Thus the Krama, in simple language, may be identified with Cit-krama or Bodha-krama.[4]

(a) *Anuttara-Krama*

Sometimes the word Krama is qualified by or prefixed with some other appellation or epithet in order to lay special emphasis on a particular aspect of the system without interfering with its actual signification. Thus, for instance, it has been

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1. ईदृक्त्वरूपरूपो यो भात्यक्रममहोदयः ।
स एव सर्वतोदिक्कः क्रमः कोऽपि निरन्तरः ।।
प्रागुक्तलक्षणेऽनन्ते शक्तिरूपे सदोदिते ।
सततं संस्थिते साक्षात्संकल्पकलनोज्झिते ।।
C. S. (MS), p. 12

2. सोऽयं पुराणाधिष्ठानः क्रमः क्रमाववर्जितः ।
महार्थस्य परा निष्ठा गलितस्वपरस्थितेः ।।
M. P. (*T*). 1.11

3. यथा श्रीपश्चिमे—
पूजा होमः क्रमश्चर्या व्रतं शास्त्रनिषेवणम् ।
तपो ध्यानं जपः शौचं तत्त्वहीनस्य निष्फलम् ।।
Quoted, *M.M.P.*, p. 112

4. यस्मादनुत्तरमहाह्रदमज्जनं मे सौभाग्यशाभवसुखानुभवश्च यस्मात् ।
तत्स्वात्माचत्क्रमविमर्शमयं गुरूणामोवल्लियुग्ममुदितोदितवीर्यमीडे ।।
M. M. P., p. 1

Cp. तस्मान्निश्चितमेव स्वस्य आत्मीयस्य शुद्धविद्यारूपत्वात् प्रकृष्टस्य परामर्शात्मिनः बोधस्य क्रमोऽस्तीति शेषः ।
T. A. V. III, p. 108

described as Anuttara Krama (metempirical order) bringing into focus the transcendental character of the supreme experience as twin-accomplishment in which lay the two poles of objective enjoyment and subjective freedom in perfect harmony.[1]

(b) *Anupāya-Krama*

Exactly on similar lines the Krama has been designated as Anupāya Krama[2] marking the highest spiritual and yogic attainment. The Anupāya-krama precisely has the same meaning as one conveyed by the word Krama when employed in its absolute sense of the ultimate ideal, as seen above.

(c) *Devatā-Krama*

Similarly it has been styled as Devatā-krama (order of the divinities) emphasizing that the inner significance of all the stages of cosmic emanation and spiritual advancement and, for that matter, of the Saṁviccakra lies in their divine character. Each step in the process, therefore, represents a divinity.[3]

(d) *Mahākrama*

In the opening pages, Mahākrama as a synonym of Krama[4] has been looked into. This title has been probably coined in the wake of another name of the Krama system i.e., Mahārtha, which is proposed to be discussed below and which literally means 'the great reality' or 'the great meaning'. This becomes quite clear when we find Maheśvarānanda presenting

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1. श्रीमदनुत्तरक्रमप्रणयनप्रवीणस्य परमेश्वरस्य परमकारुण्यमात्रोपपादितेयमास्माकीना यामली सिद्धिः ।

M. M. P., 172

2. युक्तिचर्यादिविक्षेपवासनाक्षोभवर्जितः ।
अनुपायक्रमः सोऽयं यस्य स्ढ (स्य? : स) योगिराट् ॥

M. P. (*T*) 1.13

3. खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भगौ यस्त्रिपंचविसराश्रयो क्रमः ।
देवताक्रम उदेत्यनारतं तस्य हि त्वमसि देवजन्मभूः ॥

C.G.C. 4.113

4. चतुष्टयार्थरूपो वा महाक्रमो महार्थो ज्ञेयः ।

M. P. (*S*). p. 56.

his famous work *Mahārthamañjarī* as the *Mahākramamañjarī* in the concluding verses of commentary called *Parimala*.[1]

(e) *Mahārtha-Krama*

In spite of its renown as the Mahārtha exclusively, there is no dearth of the phrase i.e., Mahārthakrama.[2] In such an expression, both the constituents of the compound enjoy the same import. The phrase stands for the Krama pertaining to the great reality (i. e., as conceived by the Mahārtha system). This phrase and the like actually have become the typical idiom of the system.

(f) *Auttara-Krama*

The same Krama which has been presented as the Anuttara-krama from the metaphysical point of view is designated as the Auttara Krama[3] from the point of view of its place of origin. The Krama system arose in and spread from Kashmir[4]

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1. ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्वगर्भादार्यैरुदन्वदुदरान्मणिमंजरीव ॥
M. M. P., p. 201

इति गुरुमुखाम्नायन्यायान्महाक्रममंजरी-
परिमलमिमं शिष्यप्रेम्णा बबन्ध महेश्वरः ॥
Ibid., p. 202

2. महार्थक्रमस्य सर्वस्रोतोऽतिशायी कोऽपि श्लाघ्योत्कर्षो ध्वन्यते ।
Ibid , p. 179

श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपंचः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विश्राम्यति ।
Ibid., p. 194

It says that the total play of succession or Krama as advocated by the system rests in Vṛnda-cakra. By implication it also means that the entire eightfold order namely, Saṁvitkrama, Dhāmkrama etc. form part of the Vṛnda-cakra.

3. आशंकोत्तरचर्चाभिरन्यैश्च गमकैः क्रमैः ।
प्रकाशयद्भिर्विश्वस्य प्रतिष्ठामौत्तरं क्रमम् ॥
M. M. P., p. 190

सिद्धान्तानां यथान्येषां सारं स्यादौत्तरः क्रमः ।
Ibid., p. 200

ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्वगर्भाद्......
Ibid., p. 201

4. सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात्......
Ibid., p. 193

which is in the north and has been described as the Northern Seat (Uttara-Pīṭha) as well.[1] In a similar strain it has been described as Auttara Artha-tattva[2] (principle of ultimate reality pertaining to the north). Since a reference has also been made to Śivānanda,[3] the earliest preceptor, whose name is associated with Kashmir, it appears a feasible reason to call the Krama system by the name of the Auttara Krama or the Auttara Tattva. Another factor that might have contributed to such a nomenclature is Krama's inclusion under Uttarāmnāya. According to the traditional lore Uttarāmnāya stands for the teachings proceeding from the Northern mouth of Śiva, that is, the 'Vāmamārga', because the Northern face is to the left. According to Dr. Pandey,[4] this interpretation agrees with the fact that the Krama enjoins the Dūtīyāga[5] and the use of liquor, woman and meat as essentials[6] of worship which are necessary ingredients of the Vāmamārga. It is, however, difficult to say that this is the precise suggestion of dubbing the Krama as practising the Vāmamārga. Although in the later form of the Krama system, which is chiefly presented by Maheśvarānanda, such apparently immoral tendencies did crop up and earned a respectable place for themselves, yet the main stress laid by the Krama has always been on the spiritual side. Moreover the Krama is not called Uttarāmnāya, but the cream and essence of the Uttarāmnáya.[7] In fact, the entire monistic current of

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1. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः ।
T. A. V., III, p. 192. *Cp. M.P.(T)*. 1.37

2. अथास्मत्प्रसाधितमौत्तरमर्थतत्त्वमेवान्येषां व्यासादीनामपि महामुनीनामन्तरनुसन्धेया देवता ।
M. M. P., p. 183

3. *M. M. P*, 197.

4. *Cf. Abhinava.*, pp. 280-281.

5. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं प्रतिपादयितुं ह्यादौ दूतीयजनमारम्भणीयतयोद्भाव्यते ।
M.M.P., 87

6. महिलामद्यमांसादीन्येव द्रव्याण्यस्मदुपास्यानां देवतानां सपर्यासु परिबर्हतयाभ्यर्हितानीति ।
Ibid, p.182

Cp. ललनामधुमांसानि पूज्याग्राणि विशेषतः ।
M.P.(T)., 9.51.

7. अर्थतत्त्वमुपादिक्षदौत्तराम्नायसंविदाम् ॥
M.M.P., *p*. 196.

Kashmir Śaivism is identified with Uttarāmnāya[1] i. e., teachings that proceeded from the Northern mouth of Śiva. On the contrary, the Kashmir Śaiva āgamas are classified under the Dakṣiṇa group of the three categories of Śaiva tantras namely, Vāma, Dakṣiṇa and Siddhānta.[2] Śitikaṇṭha sets at rest all doubts in this respect. The Uttarāmnāya occupies the highest place of all the āmnāyas and the Mahārtha i. e., Krama, ranks supreme among the Uttarāmnāyas.[3] All these observations are, however, at their tentative stage, since it is difficult to close the chapter with a final judgement. The difficulty is aggravated by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, who in his commentary on a verse of the *Śāradātilaka*,[4] remarks that the first half of the verse incorporates the Pratyabhijñā doctrine as propounded by the *Śiva-sūtra* and *Trikabheda* etc., whereas the second half represents the Uttarāmnāya view.[5] He quotes from a certain source to substantiate his contention but does not name the work. If one abides by the thesis of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, he will have to admit that the Trika and the Uttarāmnāya are two different things and reject the previously held view that the Uttarāmnāya is another name for the monistic trend of the Śaivite speculation of Kashmir. As a compromise formula it may be suggested that while distingu-

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1. औत्तराम्नायाद्यशेषशास्त्रार्थविबोधशालित्वात् ।

Ibid., p. 6.

स इति......तत्तदौत्तराम्नायोद्घोषतत्त्वेन परामृश्यमान इति यावत् ।

Ibid., p. 149.

2. See तन्त्रावतार:, N. R. Bhatta., *S. S.*, 20, I. p.72.

3. तथा पर्यन्तवर्तिनामाम्नायानां यः पर उत्कृष्ट उत्तराम्नायः ततोऽपि षट्त्रिशभेदभिन्नाद्यः पर्यन्तः प्रान्तवर्ती नवचक्रसंप्रदायः सोऽयं महार्थः ।

M. P.(S), p. 15.

Nava-cakras (nine cycles) here refer to typical Krama cakras called Prakāśa, Mūrti, Anākhyā etc.

4. शिवात्मनोरभेदेन प्रतिपत्ति परे विदुः ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं जगुरागमवेदिनः ॥

S. T., 25. 2.

5. शिवप्रोक्तसूत्रमतप्रवृत्तप्रत्यभिज्ञादिग्रन्थमतमाह शिवेति। प्रतिपत्तिर्ज्ञानम् । परे शैवाः । तदुक्तं शिवसूत्रवृत्तौ......। त्रिकभेदेऽपि......।......उत्तराम्नायमतमाह शिवेति । शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं शिवशक्त्योरभेदज्ञानमित्यर्थः । यदाहुः...

Padārthādarśa on *S.T.T.*, 11, pp. 893-94.

ishing between the two (Pratyabhijñā and Uttarāmnāya) the commentator (as well as the author) wants to pinpoint their classical and āgamic nature respectively. But as the things are, the Uttarāmnāya view, in question, is nearer to the Krama than to the Pratyabhijñā. Still, as has been said, it is difficult to state anything categorically in such a confused state of affairs.[1] Nevertheless, though we may not be certain about the exact significance of the term Uttarāmnāya, the appellation Auttara Krama, from its geographical perspective, does not pose a problem.

2. *Mahārtha or Mahārtha-Naya*

The other equally meaningful and popular denomination of the system is Mahārtha. In its most current form the word Mahārtha is used to denote the system,[2] but occasionally the word Dṛṣṭi (i.e., point of view or philosophy)[3] or Naya[4] (i. e..

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1. It might be useful to quote the following observation of M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj: "काली के विषय में परातन्त्र के नाम से प्रसिद्ध एक प्राचीन तन्त्रग्रन्थ है, जिसमें चार पटल हैं। उसमें लिखा है कि एक ही महाशक्ति षट्सिहासनारूढ़ (अलग-अलग छह सिहासनों में आरूढ) छह आम्नायों की देवी है। उसमें पूर्वाम्नाय की देवी का नाम है पूर्णेश्वरी, दक्षिणाम्नाय की देवी का नाम है विश्वेश्वरी, पश्चिमाम्नाय की देवी का नाम है कुब्जिका, उत्तराम्नाय की देवी का नाम काली है एवं ऊर्ध्वाम्नाय की अधिष्ठात्री का नाम श्रीविद्या है। उस ग्रन्थ में २य पटल से ४र्थ पटल तक भगवती काली का ही क्रम निर्णीत है।"

   तांत्रिक साहित्य, Introduction, p. 28.

2. युक्ति महानयमयीं न विहाय शक्यं।
   सर्वोत्तमोत्तमतमो हि ततो महार्थः॥
   M. P. (T). 1.4.
   महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम्।
   यां विनापि नयस्यास्य वैलक्षण्यं न जायते॥
   Ibid., 7. 135.

3. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या।
   Sp. N., p. 6.
   श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या दृगादिदेवीप्रसरणक्रमेण...।
   Pr. Hr, p., 64.
   दिव्यमहार्थदृष्ट्याविष्टास्तेभ्यो नमो नमः, वीप्सयैषामेव परतत्त्ववित्त्वं ध्वनति।
   S. St. V., p. 346.
   महार्थदृष्ट्या चिदैक्यामृतेन पूरितेषु...।
   Ibid., p. 199.

4. महार्थनयाभेदसारेण एकत्वेन च।
   Ibid, p. 48.

system) has also been added to give it a more compact look. Historically the term Mahārtha as a substitute for the word Krama meaning a system is a later development and perhaps the earliest allusion to the system in this form may be traced to Kṣemarāja.[1] And as the system grew, the word Mahārtha rather overshadowed the usage of the word Krama in later literature[2] and gained the status of a full-fledged system, as the use of the word siddhānta[3] for it would indicate. In this context it is necessary to note that this word is employed to convey two different, though complementary, senses. In the first place it is a name of a philosophical system[4] and in the second, it stands for the ideal or value the system deems to be ultimate and, consequently, harnesses its entire machinery to attain the same.[5] Really speaking the first sense is derived from the second one and, hence, stands for that system which deals with the principle of Mahārtha.

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1. *Cf.* fns. 3 and 4 supra p. 21.
2. *Cf.* fn. 2 supra p. 21. Also see *M. M. P.*, pp. 179, 194, 197, 201.
3. यत् संभूयसर्वसाम्यस्वभावा महार्थसिद्धान्तोपनिषदुन्मील्यते ।

   M. M. P., 174.
4. प्रान्तवर्ती नवचक्रसंप्रदायः सोऽयं महार्थः ।

   M.P.(S). p. 15.

   महार्थसंप्रदायत्वात्......।

   Ibid., p. 56.
5. स एव च महार्थात्मा माहार्थिकमनीषिणाम् ।

   Quoted from the *Pādukodaya*, *M. M. P.*. p. 12.

   अलमत्र श्रुतिस्मृत्यादीनां बाह्यविद्यानाम् महार्थोपायतया प्रत्यायनप्रागल्भेनेति यावत् ।

   Ibid., 178.

   निर्गतोऽघ (थ) महार्थजृम्भितः संभृतौ जननि तेऽन्वयः क्रमः ।

   C. G. C., 3.92.

   एवं च उपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकरोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

   SP. N. p. 74.

   महार्थमुद्रामुद्रितस्येयमुक्तिः ।

   S. St. V . p. 106.

   महार्थपूर्णस्यास्य सारोपदेशवर्षीणि इमानि सूक्तानि ।

   Ibid., p. 300,

   अल्पसत्त्वतया च महार्थज्ञानोपदेशाश्वसरहिताः ।

   Sv. T. V., I, p. 11.

It may, however, be noted in passing that the word Mahārtha seems to have been formulated under the tantric impact, particularly that of the Tripurā system. It is conceived to serve as the basic substrate for the totality of the sixfold reality or meaning as envisaged in the Śākta tantras. A peep into a statement[1] of Maheśvarānanda would perhaps explain the basis of the present contention.

Let us, now, enquire into the precise meaning and nature of the Mahārtha. Why is it that it is preferred to name the principle of fundamental reality as Mahārtha ? The obvious reason seems to be that the tantric philosophy usually holds that the ultimate reality has two aspects—word and meaning (vācaka and vācya). The entire stretch of our field of experience, whether mundane or meta-mundane, is subsumed under these two aspects which are knit together by the relation of significand-significans (vācaka-vācya-bhāva). Thus the ultimate reality, in its aspect as the Logos i.e., word, is the Vācaka and so is it with regard to its ontological being and formal becoming, the Import i.e., Vācya. Vācya and Artha being synonymous, it is the absolute or the basic reality that is termed as Mahārtha.[2] Thus the term Mahārtha, as denotative of the "great principle of meaning or reality" brings into relief the emergent nature of reality as containing the total possibilities of self-becoming. This has an explicit reference to the dynamic aspect of reality which comprehends and accounts for the cosmic expansion of the Absolutic personality. The Krama is necessarily related with this emergence and expression of Reality.[3] Śitikaṇṭha, the celebrated author of the *Mahānaya-*

1. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेनोपक्रान्तो—
भावार्थः सम्प्रदायोऽर्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।
तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥
इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेद-
क्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽर्थः प्राप्यं तत्त्वम् ।
M. M. P., p. 183.

2. वाच्यवाचकसंबंधाल्लक्ष्यलक्षकयोः व्यङ्ग्य-
व्यंजकभावाच्च महार्थः प्रस्फुरेच्छिवः ।

3. संख्यातवर्णपदकमन्त्राध्वानमवस्यता ।
मया तद्वाच्यसर्वस्वं वक्ष्यतेऽत्र विचिन्त्यताम् ॥
M. P. (*S*), p. 2.

Prakāśa has devoted the first and third chapters (Udayas) of his treatise exclusively to discuss and determine the precise meaning of the term Mahārtha. A few aspects of the problem have again been looked into in the fourth and eleventh chapters. For want of space it is not possible to go into each detail, but an attempt will be made to study his important observations in this regard.

He himself poses the problem—what can be said to be the great meaning denoted by the word Mahārtha[1] and proceeds to answer. His primary contention is that in view of the monistic ideology, none else than the reality itself which is one with consciousness, can be the true import of the term. But when it comes to adopting an analytical attitude towards reality, there are five things that may afford to be called Mahārtha. These five are—(i) the indivisible and partless reality, (ii) aspects of that reality, (iii) approaches leading to the attainment of the reality or (iv) to that of the aspect thereof, and (v) ancillary approaches that are instrumental to the fruition or fructification of the primary approaches indicated above.[2] Of course, it is the reality proper which may be called Mahārtha in its own right, while the rest are so called only indirectly or secondarily.[3]

After interpreting the term Mahārtha from the point of view of reality, he now goes ahead to define the same from the point of view of our experience, spiritual or otherwise. He again puts the question—what is this Mahārtha, is it meditating upon the cycles and their presiding deities ? No, it denotes the

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1. ननु को नाम महार्थस्य महानर्थोऽभिधेयः ?......कोऽन्यो......चित्स्वरूपान्महार्थशब्दस्य पात्रम् ।

   Ibid., p. 20.

2. एवमखण्डस्य वस्तुनस्तदंशानां च ये उपायाः, तदुपायसिद्धिहेतवो वापि उपायान्तराणि— इति स्वतः पारम्पर्येण वा महार्थसंज्ञायाः पंचधैव विषयाः सन्ति इति सिद्धम् ।

   M. P. (*S*), p. 24.

3. महार्थवाङ्मुख्यगत्या स्वस्वरूपाभिधायिका ।
   पारम्पर्येण तत्प्राप्तेरन्यत्वैतन्निबन्धनम् ॥

   Ibid, p. 21.

condition when one is completely possessed of the feeling of self-sameness[1] with the Absolute. He takes up eight instances[2] for the sake of illustration and each instance in their ultimate analysis is found to culminate in or turn out as the experience of unity and non-duality with the self. Thus by Mahārtha we are to understand that state of mind or spiritual awakening which never loses the sight of ultimate non-duality in all sorts of experiences, whatever the realm of existence they might belong to[3] because everything that can be thought of is but an instance of the basically monistic principle. In other words, therefore, the perfect state of mind or the state of self-fulfilment may be equally designated as Mahārtha—that dispels even the slightest tinge of distinction between 'I' and 'you' i.e., the self and the not-self.[4] The same state of self-perfection is identified with the Anākhya stage in the doctrinal parlance which, too, is said to be characterised by harmony and utter want of duality.[5] It, thus, may be logically concluded that these items i.e., the unitary character of reality and the basically non-dual harmonious experience etc., form the main subject-matter of the system. Hence the name Mahārtha.

3. *Mahānaya*

The term Mahānaya as an appellation of the Krama system appears to have been a favourite of the later Krama authors because the earliest references available do not go

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1. अथ कोऽयं महार्थो नाम, किं चक्रचक्रेश्वरीसंनिवेशविशेषस्मरणमात्रम् ? नैतत्—महान् चिदद्वयदशावेशो महार्थ इति ब्रूमः ।

   Ibid., p. 36.

2. तथा च—पंचेन्द्रियग्राह्याणां......। इति अष्टमः, इति ।

   Ibid., pp. 36-37.

3. इति—सर्वप्रकारमास्थितस्य अद्वैतस्य सर्वास्ववस्थासु चिदद्वयाविप्रमोषो नाम महार्थ-शब्दव्यपदेश्योऽस्तु ।

   M. P. (*S*), p 37.

4. अतश्च आत्मनः परिपूर्णा वृत्तिर्महार्थः प्रतिपन्नो भवति । ...निजानां परेषां च यदद्वयी-भावनं नाम दर्शनार्थसतत्त्वम् ।

   Ibid., p. 48.

5. एक एव अखण्डचिदाभासरूपोऽनाख्य क्रममयो भेदविगलनेन सामरस्यमयो महार्थः ।

   Ibid., p. 120.

back beyond Śivānanda II, the author of the *Mahānaya-Prakāśa*[1] (*T*) But that the phrase was extremely popular is evinced by the very fact that at least the two important Krama texts have been named after it. The one is just referred to above and the other is by Śitikaṇṭha. The other references to it, indicative of its denoting a system, are found in Jayaratha,[2] Śitikaṇṭha[3] and Ananta Śaktipāda.[4] It has got exactly the same meaning as its counterpart, Mahārtha. At least once it has been stated that the word 'Mahā' (Mahān) in the compound stands for "Artha" i.e., reality.[5] It may also be surmised following the present line of thinking that the word Mahānaya was probably a condensed or abridged form of the phrase Mahārthanaya wherein 'Mahān' stood for reality (as conceived by the Krama system) and 'Naya' for the system.

4. *Mahāsāra*

We are not absolutely certain that the word Mahāsāra stood for the Krama system. But the context, in which this phrase[6] is found, is weighty enough to support the hypothesis that Kṣemarāja wants us to believe that it was another way of presenting the Mahārtha ideal. Because the phrase immediately

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1. युक्ति महानयमयीं न विहाय शक्यम् ।
M. P. (*T*). 1.4.
स्थितेष्वपि च सोल्लेखो व्यापको हि महानयः ।
Ibid., 1.31.
महानयस्यानुगुणं चिद्रूपं प्रतिपादितम् ।
Ibid., 3. 92.
महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्वयवादिनः ।
Ibid., 7.26.

2. प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सवंशास्तु ।
T. A. V., *III*, p. 195.

3. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहानयालंकारभूतम् ।
M. P. (*S*), p. 50.

4. इत्थं महानयोक्तदिशा ।
V.N.S.V., p.5.

5. महानयक्रमे पूर्वं महाशब्दोऽर्थयुक्तिभाक् ।
M. P. (*T*), 1.29.

6. श्रीमन्महासारोक्तिमयेऽमुत्र स्तोत्रे ।
S. St., V, p. 302.

follows his remark that the Stotra in question (i.e., ***Divya-krīḍā-bahumānastotra***) is replete with the statements bearing upon the Mahārthatattva.[1] Moreover, his qualifying the word Mahāsāra with the epithet Śrīman,[2] as he usually does with Mahārtha when he wishes to refer to the system,[3] strengthens our conjecture.

5. *Atinaya*

On the authority of an extract cited by Jayaratha in order to demonstrate the lack of complete unanimity with regard to the precise line of the Krama teachers, it may be concluded that the Krama system was also known as Atinaya.[4] In Śitikaṇṭha one finds this position categorically endorsed.[5]

Here a problem poses itself which escapes a definite solution for the present. Abhinavagupta, while enumerating different systems of the Kashmir Śaiva group, also mentions a system named Atimārga.[6] Since the Atimārga is mentioned side by side the Krama and Kula, it is natural to treat them as the separate lines of thought. But, curiously enough, Jayaratha cites a passage[7] which presents Atimārga as Kula, because the reference is being made to Sumatinātha, the great-grand-teacher of Abhinava in the Kula system. Now the problem can briefly be put as under—

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1. इति महार्थपरिपूर्णस्यास्य सारोपदेशवर्षीणि इमानि सूक्तानि उल्लसन्ति ।

Ibid., p. 300.

2. *Cf.* fn. 6. p 26 supra.
3. *Cf. Sp. N.*, p.5; *Pr. Hṛ.*, p. 64.
4. संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्थम् ।

T. A. V., III, p. 195.

5. अस्मिश्चातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमार्थे ।

M. P. (S), p. 126.

भवतामतिनयाविष्टानाम् ।

Ibid., p. 141.

6. अतिमार्गक्रमकुलत्रिकस्रोतोऽन्तरादिषु ।

M. V. V., p. 192.

7. पंचस्रोतसि सातिमार्गविभवे शास्त्रे विधाता च यः ।
लोकेऽभूत् सुमति......।

T. A. V., I, p. 236.

(a) Do the two terms namely, Atinaya and Atimārga, stand for one and the same system ? If so which is that system, since

(i) Atimārga is different from the Krama and Kula systems according to Abhinava,

(ii) Atinaya is identified with the Krama, as has been noted above,

(iii) Atimārga is identified with the Kula system by an authority approvingly quoted by Jayaratha.

There are two probable alternatives. First, the Atimārga may be taken as constituting a common trait of all the monistic systems of Kashmir which, according to the unanimous verdict of the tradition, are inherently superior (atinaya—nayam atikramya) to other systems. Hence its equation with either of the Kula and Krama does not cause much difficulty. The separate identity of the Kula and Krama withers away when the Krama ultimately culminates in the Kula. This contention has a purely hypothetical value in the absence of any positive evidence to bear it out. The second alternative is suggested by a cue from Śitikaṇṭha. The Atinaya, accordingly, may be identified with the Samaya-Vidyā i.e., Tripurā system, in the sense that the highest ideal of the Krama system is also the supreme goal of the Samaya-vidyā marking the culmination of the entire panorama of the Krama.[1] This alternative seems more plausible, because Kashmir's contribution to the Tripurā system is immense and in no measure less than that to the Kula etc. The Krama system may also be viewed as a transitionary link between the Kula, a Śaiva system, and the Tripurā, a Śākta system, with no fundamental difference except one in their varying emphasis on one of the two aspects. When Abhinavagupta refers to the Atimārga as independent of the Kula, he might have intended to highlight the individual status of the two systems (Tripurā and Kula). And where Atinaya is identi-

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1. अस्मिश्चातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमार्थे यच्चरमं स्थानं तत्रैव सर्वेषां क्रमाणां विश्रान्तत्वात् तस्यैव प्राधान्यात् एकैव समयविद्या ।

M.P.(*S*), 126.

fied with Krama or Atimārga with Kula, the emphasis seems to be on their agreements. We however leave the question open for future research with the comment that there was a time in the history of the Krama thought when the word Atinaya signified the Krama system. Thus the controversy view comes to address itself to the feasibility and tenability of the equation between the Atimārga and the Atinaya.

6. *Devatānaya or Devīnaya*

From the context it is obvious that Jayaratha interprets the word Devīnaya in terms of the Krama system.[1] The doctrine that holds the female divinity (the female aspect of reality i e., Śakti or Kālī) as the ultimate principle is designated as Devatā-naya.[2] The main thesis of the system consists in the capacity of reality (in its female aspect) to come out and chisel the entire multiplicity even without the support of a canvas. The term Devatānaya is more palatable to those who subscribe to the theory of the absolute ultimacy of the female aspect and relegate the male aspect of reality (i.e., Śiva) to a slightly inferior position. They believe in the basic identity of the two aspects, yet feel that whatever their difference, howsoever minute, is worthy of careful attention for the infallible and correct appreciation of reality. To them, therefore, the Parameśvara (or the Lord-Absolute) marks the end of the traffic of time (Kāla), whereas the Devī (the Lady-Absolute) is the repository or the culminating point of that end itself.[3] Śitikaṇṭha cites certain

1. ......च देवीनये कृताः शिष्याः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

2. सा देवी कथ्यते तस्या नयोऽसौ देवतानयः ।

M.P. (*T*), 3. 109

3. यत्रापटेऽपरिक्षी** (णा? णो) पि टंकोऽसौ नयस्ततः ।
या कालग्रासविश्रान्तिस्तद्रूपं परमेशितुः ।
या तु विश्रान्तिविश्रान्तिस्तद्देवीरूपमिष्यते ।
इत्थं सू (क्ष्म? क्ष्मे) क्षितारूपो भेदो यत्परमेशयोः ।
ऐक्येऽपि दर्शितं सम्यक् प्रतीतिपरिशुद्धये ।।

M. P. (*T*)., 3. 109-111.

**Avagraha (ऽ) after Apte has been added by us to make the line intelligible.

agamic source to suggest that the Devatānaya (i.e., system of the goddess) is the system that revolves round the divine functionalism and where the functions e.g., Sṛṣṭi, etc. are the other names of the powers of the Absolute such as volition etc.[1]

7. *Kālīnaya*

There are no particular reasons for naming it as Kālīnaya other than those adduced above. The Devī, which is the absolute ontological principle, is designated as Kālī or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī.[3] Another possible reason might lie in its adherence to the Anākhya-krama or Saṁviccakra which accounts for cosmic emanation in terms of the twelve (or thirteen) Kālīs.[4]

8. *Conclusion*

There are a few other designations of the Krama system which are not considered for fear of unnecessary details. Moreover, those appellations do not have the common approval of the Krama authors. If they are coined and also referred to, the intention always has been to reflect on the nexus between the Krama system and the particular context in which they figure. Nevertheless a few denominations, that have bearing on its tantric character, have been taken into account in our enquiry on the tantric character of the Krama system.

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1. इच्छानुपातिनी सृष्टिः स्थितिश्चित्तचमत्कृतिः ।
   तदभावेन संहारो यस्यान्ते देवतानयः ॥
   M. P. (*S*), p. 45
2. अभिनवगुप्तस्य गुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुरुता ।
   T. A. V., II, p. 193.
3. See, Pt. II, Ch. II.
4. See, Pt. II, Ch. II.

CHAPTER III

KRAMA AS A TANTRIC SYSTEM

An analysis and exptoratory study of the fundamentals of the Krama Tantricism in the wider perspective of the esoteric tantricism of monistic Śaivism of Kashmir

1. *Rise of tantricism in Krama : A later development*

Profuse references to the tantric leanings of the Krama system in the past impel us to advert to the study of the tantric character of the system. The entire growth of the Krama thought has undergone a radical process of transformation from philosophy to tantricism or a journey from the metaphysical speculation to the tantric practice and symbolism or, to be more exact, from the philosophic tantricism to the esoteric tantricism.

From the earliest phase devoted to the analysis and examination of the functional and activistic character of the Absolutic dynamism, one comes to an era of pure tantricism in Maheśvarānanda who describes his work as a Tantra[1] with a sense of pride. It is no doubt a fact that the Krama system, having been nurtured under agamic influence, had tantric associations from the very beginning, yet the philosophical and mystical side enjoyed the upperhand. Later on, the same was made subservient to the tantric demands on it.

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1. महार्थमञ्जर्याह्वयं महत् तन्त्रम्...।

M. M. P., p. 2.

सूत्राणां सप्ततिस्तन्त्रे महार्थे मन्त्रगर्भिणी ।

Ibid., p. 198.

ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भाद् ।

Ibid., p. 201.

2. *Tantra-Prakriyā Versus Kula-Prakriyā : Krama as a part of the Tantra-Prakriyā in the Tantrāloka*

The very fact that Abhinavagupta deals with the Krama system in the *Tantrāloka* (lit., the light of the Tantras) makes out a strong case in support of its tantric build up. This conclusion does not take into account the circumstantial evidence alone. It is, in fact, implied, according to Jayaratha, in the very scheme of the *Tantrāloka*. He says, the whole subject-matter of the *Tantrāloka* falls under two heads viz., Tantra-Prakriyā and Kula-Prakriyā.[1] One is not immediately concerned with Abhinava's comparatively more favourable disposition towards the Kula. What is significant is the fact that the mainstream of the monistic thought has been split into two currents. The first current namely, the Tantra-Prakriyā, is traced to Traiyambaka and the other one namely, the Kula-Prakriyā, to Ardha-traiyambaka.[2] As the tradition has it, there were four preceptorial schools (or lines of teachers) technically known as Maṭhikās. The schools founded by Āmardaka and Śrīnātha and continued by their spiritual descendants related to the dualistic and dualistic-cum-monistic trends of thought respectively. Traiyambaka was responsible for propagation of the monistic thought. In his case the most peculiar thing is that he is credited with having inspired two monistic schools—one, which he propagated directly, was called the Traiyambaka Maṭhikā and the other, which was founded by a descendant on his daughter's side, won the title of the Ardha-traiyambaka Maṭhikā.[3] It is these two

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1. अतश्च वक्ष्यमाणशास्त्रस्य कुलतन्त्रप्रक्रियात्मकेन द्वैविध्ये......।
T. A. V., I, p.24.
एवं च तन्त्रप्रक्रियोपासन्नगु ऽभिमुखीकरणान्तरं विश्रान्तिस्थानतया कुलप्रक्रियागुरुमपि उत्कर्षयति ।
Ibid. p. 31.

2. इति वक्ष्यमाणस्थित्या श्रीसन्तत्यामर्दकत्रैयम्बकार्धत्रैयम्बकाख्यासु सार्धासु तिसृषु मठिकासु मध्यात् वक्ष्यमाणतन्त्रप्रक्रियायाः त्रैयम्बकमठिकाश्रयणेन आयातिक्रमोऽस्ति ।
Ibid., p. 27.

3. *Cf. T. A. V.*, I, pp. 26-28 and *Abhi.*, pp. 132-136.

schools that are sought to be identified with the Tantra and the Kula Prakriyā respectively. But it is quite likely that one may miss the precise implications of the above contention with regard to the Krama system. It may be noted that while the Kula system is accorded a separate identity as constituting Ardha-traiyambaka line of thinking, all other monistic systems, namely, Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā (Spanda excluded) are subsumed under the Tantra-Prakriyā or the Traiyambaka school.[1] It is further to be noted that the fact of such inclusion has not been admitted openly, but the conclusion becomes irresistible when one finds the entire Ṣaḍardha-krama-vijñāna (one of the typical ways of presenting the monistic-Śaiva thinking of Kashmir in general)[2] being identified with the Traiyambaka school. It may also be noted that although the Krama and Trika etc. have different secular history, they seem to be one in the matter of their origin. One factor consists in the generally acclaimed close affinity between the Trika and the Krama.[3] The assertion that the Krama system finally culminates in the Kula refers more to the ultimate spiritual possibilities of the Krama system than to their apparent structure, while the identity between the Trika and Krama system ensues from their present character. The other factor happens to be that Abhinava learnt Krama from that very set of teachers led by

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1. निखिलशास्त्रोपनिषद्भूतस्य षडर्धक्रमविज्ञानस्य त्रैयम्बकसन्तानद्वारेण अवतारकत्वाद् ।
T.A.V., I, p. 28.

2. सन्ति पद्धतयश्चित्राः स्रोतोभेदेषु भूयसा ।
अनुत्तरषडर्धार्थक्रमे त्वेकापि नेक्ष्यते ॥
T.A., 1.14.

3. अनेन श्रीमहार्थत्रिकदर्शनयोरन्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रथेति व्याख्यातम् ।
M.M.P., 96.

Be it noted that while dwelling upon the Krama concept of parity between predication and negation (निषेधविधितुल्यत्व) Jayaratha generally refers to Krama as Trika, as if the two were one. See, *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 279-290. Also cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Krama versus other sister systems etc."

Somānanda from whom he learnt Trika and Pratyabhijñā.[1] As opposed to this, he had a different line of teachers for the Kula culminating in Śambhunātha. And yet both the Tantra and Kula Prakriyās join each other as a part and parcel of a monolithic monistic complex evolved by Abhinavagupta. This may be perhaps due to:

(i) the descent of divine revelation of the monistic brand through the same source, namely, Traiyambaka (either directly or indirectly), and

(ii) the Kula's unflinching adherence to the agamic wisdom in common with the fellow doctrines, as contained in the *Mālinī-Vijayottara Tantra* and thus inclusion of the Kula under the broader Trika scheme.[2]

3. *Tantra-Prakriyā Analyzed*

It is disquieting to see that Abhinava, even though subjecting his observations to the minutest analysis, nowhere men-

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1. श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।
T.A.V., III, p. 194.

Jayaratha lends additional support to the above contention in following lines:—

'पूर्वे जयन्ति गुरवः'[a] इति सामान्येन कृतेऽपि नमस्कारे योगाङ्गत्वेन समानेऽपि...'तर्को योगाङ्गमुत्तमम्'[b] इत्याद्युक्त्या परमोपादेयस्वप्रकाशस्वात्मेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञापनपरस्य तर्कस्य कर्तारो व्याख्यातारश्च परं नमस्कर्तव्याः इति विशेषप्रयोजकीकारेण गुरु-परमगुरु-परमेष्ठिनः[c] पुनरपि परामष्टुमाह ।
T.A.V., I, p. 30.

a. *T.A.* 1.8. referring to the earlier teachers of the Traiyambaka school i.e., *Tantra Prakriyā*.

b. *M.V.T.* 17.18 suggesting the Krama doctrine of Sattarka i.e., Right Logic.

c. Lakṣmaṇagupta, Utpala and Somānanda respectively, *vide T.A.* 1.10.11.

2. ननु सामान्येन त्रिकदर्शनप्रक्रियाकरणं प्रतिज्ञाय, सम्भवत्यपि तदर्थाभिधायिनि शास्त्रजाते

किमिति श्रीमालिनीविजयोत्तरमेवाधिकृत्य तन्निर्वाहयिष्यते इत्याशंक्य आह...सारभूतत्वात् सर्वशास्त्राणाम् । एतदेवाह

दशाष्टादशवस्वष्टभिन्नं यच्छासनं विभोः ।
तत्सारं त्रिकशास्त्रं हि तत्सारं मालिनीमतम् ॥

T.A.V., I, p. 35.

In this connection it might be interesting to take into account the following observation made by Kṣemarāja in his Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya while explaining the 8th Sūtra (तद्भूमिकाः सर्वदर्शनस्थितयः)—"विश्वोत्तीर्णमात्मतत्त्वम् इति तान्त्रिकाः । विश्वमयम् इति कुलाद्याम्नायनिविष्टाः । विश्वोत्तीर्णं विश्वमयं च इति त्रिकादिदर्शनविदः ।"

According to this statement all the three schools viz., the Tantra, Kula and Trika, stand on different footings and propagate divergent views with regard to the nature of the ultimate reality. Thus, the ultimate reality is transcendental to the Tāntrikas, immanent to the Kaulas and transcendent-immanent to the Trikas.

This view of Kṣemarāja, apparently, comes in direct conflict with the stand adopted by Abhinavagupta that the word Tantra Prakriyā is comprehensive enough so as to include all the varying shades of Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā within its ambit. It is very strange that all the editions of the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya and their respective editors are silent on this point—in fact it does not seem to bother any one of them. It, however, appears to the present author that Kṣemarāja does not use the word Tantra and Kula in the same technical sense as is used by Abhinava. For, the views ascribed to the Tantra and Kula systems by him are not exactly those as they are known to have held on the basis of the available literature. So far as the concept of the ultimate reality is concerned, all the systems—those which are assigned under Tantra-prakriyā and those which are not (i e., those which subscribe to Kula-prakriyā)—unreservedly take it to be both, transcendent as well as immanent. This view is essentially one which has been ascribed by Kṣemarāja to the adherents of the Trika and its like systems (note the word 'ādi' in Trikādi). It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the words Tantra and Kula as used by Kṣemarāja do not stand for their counterparts within the fold of Kashmir Śaiva Monism, instead they represent alien forces. The word Trikādi, in fact, stands for the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir in general which is further subdivided into Tantra and Kula Prakriyās. It would, therefore, appear that the view expressed by Kṣemarāja does not contradict what has been shown to have been maintained by his master, Abhinavagupta.

tions 'his' conception of the Tantra-Prakriyā[1] in contrast with the Kula Prakriyā. It remains for his students to draw their own conclusion.

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1. No attempt is made here to define the word Tantra. In tantric parlance, however, it is called Tantra because it promulgates great knowledge concerning reality (tattva) and Mantra, and, because it saves from the worldly trammels—

तनोति विपुलान् अर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।
त्राणं च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

Kāmika Āgama, Tantrāntara Paṭala.

Owing to his uncompromising monistic attitude the Trika author views the phenomenon of knowledge as a continuity and totality of the Final Awareness. Hence, to a Trika author Tantra stands for such a text where the teacher, the taught and the teaching—everything happens to be identical with the supreme consciousness and it is consciousness that enacts the role of the teacher and the taught in the form of the enquirer and the replier:

स्वयमेव विबोधश्च तथा प्रश्नोत्तरात्मकः ।
गुरुशिष्यपदेऽप्येष देहभेदो ह्यतात्त्विकः ॥

T.A. 1.256.

भिन्नयोः प्रष्टृतद्वक्त्रोश्चैकात्म्यं यत्स उच्यते ।
संबंधः परता चास्य पूर्णैकात्म्यप्रथामयी ॥

T.A. 1.275.

Cp. गुरुशिष्यपदे स्थित्वा स्वयं देवः सदाशिवः ।
पूर्वोत्तरप्रपदैर्वाक्यैस्तन्त्रं समवतारयत् ॥

SV. T.S. 33.

But such descriptions fail to enlighten us about the precise nature and subject matter of the Tantras. For details of the etymology, genesis and definition of the word Tantra see *Śakti and Śākta*, Sir John Woodroffe, pp. 52-53 and *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Kane, V-II, pp. 1031-33.

Unswerving mind and controlled senses—these two things are said to constitute the essential features of the tantras. Vide—

जितानि येनेन्द्रियाणि मनो यस्य वशे स्थितम् ॥......
स्वकार्ये परकार्ये वा यस्य बुद्धिः स्थिरा भवेत् ॥......
इत्येष तान्त्रिको न्यायः कथितस्तु समासतः ॥

SV.T. 10. 71-73.

This is all that we find expressly mentioned in the essentials of tantric culture. But this, too, does not give us insight into the bases of the tantric way of thinking as well as living

One is, therefore, supposed to directly appeal to the contents of the *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra* and *Mahārtha-mañjarī* (which is professedly presented as a tantric treatise) to find out what are the tantric features the Krama system claims to partake of.[1]

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1. For fuller grasp of the subject and comparative analysis of the common features of the tantras Woodroffe's following observation will be helpful:—

"*As instances of general ideas* I may cite the following: the conception of Deity as a Supreme Personality (Parāhaṁtā) and of the double aspect of God in one of which He really is or becomes the Universe; a true emanation from Him in His creative aspect; successive emanations (Ābhāsa, Vyūha) as of "fire from fire" from subtle to gross; doctrine of Śakti; pure and impure creation; the denial of unconscious Māyā, such as Śaṁkara teachers; doctrine of Māyā Kośa and the Kañcukas (the six Śaiva Kañcukas being, as Dr. Schrader says, represented by the possibly earlier classification in the Pañcarātra of the three Saṁkocas); the carrying of the origin of things up and beyond Puruṣa-Prakṛti, the Sāṁkhyan Guṇas, and evolution of Tattvas as applied to the doctrine of Śakti; affirmation of the reality of the Universe; emphasis on devotion (Bhakti); provision for all castes and both sexes.

"*Instances of common practice* are for example Mantra, Bīja, Yantra, Mudrā, Nyāsa, Bhūtaśuddhi, Kuṇḍalinīyoga, construction and consecration of temples and images (Kriyā), religious and social observances (Caryā) such as Āhnika, Varṇāśrama Dharma, Utsava; and practical magic (Māyāyoga). Where there is Mantra, Yantra, Nyāsa, Dīkṣā, Guru, and the like, there is Tantra Śāstra. In fact one of the names of the latter is Mantra Śāstra. With these similarities there are certain variations of doctrines and practice between the schools. Necessarily also, even on points of common similarity, there is some variance in terminology and exposition which is unessential." Vide *Śakti and Śākta*, pp. 58-59. Vide also Introduction to *Principles of Tantra*, pt. II, pp. XII-XIV; *The Śāktas* by E. A. Payne, p. 137, for a similar view. Also cf. *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, p. 1092, fn. 1768.

Similarly T. A. Gopinatha Rao makes an important observation while distinguishing between the words āgama and tantra which appears profitable to quote, "The words āgama and tantra are used throughout this work as synonymous; strictly speaking an āgama differs but slightly from a tantra. The former is said to deal with twentyfive subjects such as the nature of the Brahman, Brahmavidyā, the names of the different tantras, creation and destruction of the world, etc. The latter treats of only seven out of the twentyfive subjects dealt within

a. *Chararteristic Features of Tantra as Outlined in the Tantrasāra*

Abhinava in his *Tantrasāra*, an epitome of the tantric knowledge, seems to suggest the following points as common grounds among the monistic tantras:—

(i) ignorance as imperfect knowledge identified with impurity (mala); twofold division of ignorance in the form of the spiritual (Pauruṣa) and the conceptual (Bauddha), the latter being more important as constituting primary step towards self-realisation;

(ii) Reality as self-luminosity and consciousness;

(iii) objective multiplicity as a manifestation of Awareness;

(iv) the Supreme Consciousness as Free Will;

(v) Reality as simultaneously transcendent and immanent due to its integral dynamism and freedom;

(vi) individual self or empirical being as a phenomenon of self-limitation of reality;

(vii) re-emergence of the limited self as Universal Self—spontaneously, owing to unrestricted agency of the self or gradually, with the help of earlier means necessitating the refinement of Vikalpas;[1]

(viii) necessity of Sattarka (right logic), Sadāgama (right scripture) and Sadguru (right teacher) as aides to re-emergence of eclipsed personality in original splendour on a graduated scale through purification of thought-constructs;

(ix) Sattarka (right logic), the most efficacious part of the Yoga, as an immediate means for self-attainment;

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the āgamas. Sometimes the word yāmala is used as synonymous with āgama and tantra; and a yāmala deals with only five out of the twentyfive subjects in the āgamas." (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 21 (fn.)

Rao, however, does not enlighten us on the source of his information. It is, therefore, difficult to assess its textual authenticity.

1. For points from (i) to (vii) see *T.S.*, pp. 2-7.

(x) recourse to practices such as Yāga, Homa, Vrata, Yoga etc. for subliming the right logic which is pure-knowledge (Śuddha-Vidyā);

(xi) realization of perfection-consciousness through manifestation of totality of powers;

(xii) supremacy of the Trika scriptures.[1]

b. *Maheśvarānanda and Ramyadeva on Tantra as well as the Tantric Character of Krama*

Maheśvarānanda in his Gāthās 2[2], 69[3] which he devotes exclusively to examining the essentials of a tantra and by implication of his Mahārtha tantra i.e., *Mahārtha-mañjarī*, too, is more specific and precise than the generalization of those that have not been covered above. Thus these aspects are:

(i) The worldly multiplicity, represented by sensuous objects such as touch, sound etc., ordinarily supposed to be binding turns out to be the unfailing means of self-realisation.[4]

(ii) The means and goal of the spiritual attainment are identical.[5]

(iii) Harmony of the two aspects of reality i.e., Being (Prakāśa) and Dynamism (Vimarśa), constitutes the nucleus of our physical being which too is identical with the totality of six channels (Adhvans).[6]

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1. For points from (viii) to (xii) cf. *T.S.*, pp. 21-32.
2. अथ तन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यमर्थतत्त्वं तत्पारज्ञानस्य प्रयोजनतयान्वेष्यतां चाभिदधानः ।
   M.M.P., p. 9.
3. प्रक्रान्तस्य महातन्त्रस्य निष्कृष्टमर्थतत्त्वं संग्रहेणोद्घाटयितुमाह ।
   Ibid., p. 180.
4. दर्शनान्तरप्रणेतृमनीषया संसारनिबंधनत्वेनोपकल्पितः शब्दस्पर्शादिविषयविक्षोभो जीवन्मुक्तिलक्षणाह्लादस्वभावं स्वात्मनो विमर्शं प्रत्युपायतयोपदिश्यते ।
   M.M P., p. 14.
5. अस्य चोपायोपेयभावस्य अव्यभिचारस्वभावसामरस्योद्भावनाय...।
   Ibid.
6. यदिदं षडध्वोल्लाससमष्टिरूपस्य स्वशरीरस्यानुप्राणनतयावतिष्ठमानमविकल्पावस्थायां तदुत्तीर्णोल्लेखं च सत्प्रकाशविमर्शद्वितयमेलापलक्षणमन्तस्तत्त्वं हृदयमित्युच्यते ।
   Ibid., p. 181.

(iv) Abhyudaya and Niḥśreyas of the Vedic terminology are transformed into Bhoga and Mokṣa in the tantric phraseology. While ordinarily enjoyment (bhoga) and freedom (mokṣa) cannot be combined as being opposite forces, they are synthesized into one unit marking the state of liberation where an object of enjoyment is visualized as an expression of self-reality.[1]

(v) Wine, woman and meat which stand badly condemned in other systems occupy a place of basic importance in the ritualistic scheme because they offer a crucial and hard test of one's spiritual advancement.[2]

(vi) Mantra is the fundamental component of any spiritual or textual adventure as it stands for the indeterminate matrix of the world known as Parā Vāk. The same is also identified with the principle of supreme agency consisting in I-consciousness or self-experience that enlivens the mantra.[3]

(vii) Worship (Pūjana), deity (Devatā) and physical postures (Mudrā),—everything transpiring to be essentially a reflection on the individual self's identity with the Universal Self—are the factors that impart a definite tantric look to any doctrine.[4]

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1. येन च क्षणमात्रानुबद्धेनापि जननमरणाद्यशेषोपद्रवव्युदासशाली जीवन्मोक्षलक्ष्मीमहोपभोग: संपद्यते ।

M.M.P., 132.

2. अन्यशास्त्रविगर्हितानि महिलामद्यमांसादीन्येव द्रव्याण्यस्मदुपास्यानां देवतानां सपर्यासु परिबर्हतयाभ्यर्हितानि इति ।

Ibid.

3. येन मन्त्रात्मकै: शब्दै: परमेश्वर्युपासते ।...
बाह्यानामान्तराणां च मन्त्राणामुज्ज्वलार्चिषाम ।
वीर्यमेषैव बोद्धव्या पराहन्तामयी कला ।।

Ibid., pp. 198-200.

4. पूजास्वरूपनिष्कर्षो देवताया निरूपणम् ।।
चिन्तनं मन्त्रतत्त्वस्य वाग्वृत्तिस्फूर्तिनिश्चय: ।
मुद्रारूपपरामर्शो विमर्शस्यात्मवर्तन: ।।

M.M.P., p. 20.

The fourth aspect is logically deduced from the first one as presented above. In this connection an allusion to a few observations made by Ramyadeva in his commentary on the *Bhāvopahāra* would make this study more meaningful. He portrays the Krama system as one that believes in the identity of the Full (Pūrṇa) and the Lean (Kṛśa) deity. Implying that even when Reality (i.e., divinity par transcendence) is not involved in cosmic manifestation owing to withdrawal of the latter, it retains its perfection.[1] The other remark relates to the seventh aspect, mentioned above. In his view recourse to the practices like worship etc. being essentially another way of meditative realization of one's divine essence, turns out to be instinctive and integral part of our spiritual personality. As an essential dimension of spiritual being the act of worship never comes to a close.[2]

c. *Characteristic Features of Krama as a Tantric System*

Thus it is evident that the Krama as a tantric system, rests upon intuition and discourages dialectic. In doing so it approximates to some modern tendencies of the Western philosophy. The tantric character seeks its fulfilment in the harmonious reconcilement of intuition with practical realization. It is why, by the fourfold divisions of tantric subject matter (Jñāna, Yoga, Kriyā, Caryā) Jñāna is linked up with Kriyā and Caryā through Yoga. It also explains the reason behind acclaiming the *Mālinī Tantra* as the chief source of inspiration, because it struck a balance between speculation and practice[3] Likewise,

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1. इति संक्षयप्रधानायामपि वृत्तौ अविलुप्तमेव पारिपूर्ण्यम्—
इति पूर्णकृशदेवतैकात्म्यमयः कोऽपि नयः प्रथितः ।

B.U.V.. p. 38.

2. सर्वात्मसात्कारकरणलक्षणः सततोदितोऽकृत्रिमपूजानय उट्टङ्कितः ।

B. U. V., p. 4.

3. तच्च सिद्धा-नामक-मालिन्याख्यखण्डत्रयात्मकत्वात् त्रिविधम् ।
तत्र क्रियाप्रधानं सिद्धातन्त्रं, ज्ञानप्रधानं नामकं तन्त्रं, तदुभयमयं मालिनीमतम् इति तदेव मुख्यम् ।

T.A.V., I, p. 49.

synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa—the *sine qua non* of the tantric philosophy is the tantric rendering of harmony between knowledge and action. The key objective of the *Tantrāloka* is to expound this theme through an exposition of the four upāyas that are the tantric adaptations of the various systems under the Trika.[1] This synthesis is achieved by leading intuition, according to the tantra, into higher and higher possibilities by means of Sādhanā i.e., practice, whose result is the gradual unfolding of the spirit's latent potencies. Thus philosophy of the tantra is a practical philosophy which, according to an eminent Indian author, "not merely 'argues' but 'experiments'."[2]

4. *Two Phases of the Krama-Tantricism*

In the earlier phase which comes to a close with Kṣemarāja or Varadarāja, the Krama system was marked by a definite proclivity towards philosophical and intuitional issues. In tantric phraseology the aspects Jñāna and Yoga remained superior to those of Caryā and Kriyā. It is in fact its main plank against the Kula and Siddhānta doctrines as subsequent study would reveal. But later on the emphasis was reversed and the ritualistic aspect came on the threshold. Mysticism and metaphysics were made to serve the interests of esotericism and ritualism. The tendency makes deeprooted strides as we drift close to Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭha. Sometimes the author is so lost in esoteric jargon that it becomes a test for a modern student[3] to carry on his perusal. However, the later phase

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1. इति ज्ञानचतुष्कं यत्सिद्धिमुक्तिमहोदयम् ।
तन्मया तन्व्यते तन्त्रालोकनाम्न्यत्र शासने ॥

T.A. 1.245.

2. *Śakti and Śākta*, p. 63. The view referred to has been ascribed to Prof. Pramatha Natha Mukhopadhyaya, now of Swami Pratyagatmananda fame.

3. For instance the following phrases from the *Bhāvopahāra-vivaraṇa* have surpassed the comprehension of the present author:

देशबन्धादिभिः अष्टोत्तरशतसंख्यातान्त्रिकमुख्यसंप्रदायसिद्धिभूमिकोल्लंघनक्रमेण अमलता-

attaches importance to the Mudrā, Mantra[1] and Pūjana[2] etc. to the extent that these emerge as the central features of the system. Similarly the Pīṭha, the spiritual seat, which attracted only passing references before, now comes to be eulogised as constituting the most vital element in the system.[3]

सादनम् (p. 23), चन्द्रकमलमीलनन्याय: (p. 28), चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषचर्वणेन... अनुत्तरपरपरिस्पन्दसौन्दर्यविद्योतनेन अमावास्यावासनावासित: कोऽपि संम्प्रदाय: उट्टङ्कित: (p. 29) etc.

It is just an instance, Śitikaṇṭha's work, in particular abounds in such expressions.

1. मुद्रामन्त्रात्मकोऽत्रैव सम्प्रदायोऽनुवर्तते ।

   M.P.(*T*). 7. 122.

2. उन्मील्यते कथनपूजनसंक्रमात्मा नित्याविलुप्तविभवो गुरुसंप्रदाय: ।

   Ibid , 1.5.

   कथनात्मा सम्प्रदायो निष्ठामत्र परां गत: ।

   Ibid., 7. 61; *vide* also 1.35; 7.41-42., 7.134, 9.67. *Vide* also *M.M.P.*, p. 86.

3. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहानयालङ्कारभूतम् ।

   M.P.(*S*), p. 50.

   इत्थं पीठाख्य एष महार्थ: ।

   Ibid., p. 56.

   Cp. परमरहस्या+++
   गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्बीजम् ।
   पीठक्रमस्वरूपं नत्वा सन्तन्यते प्रथमम् ।।

   M.P.(*T*). 2.1; also cp. 2.41.

   The above lines do not try to ascertain the exact number of spiritual seats (Pīṭhas) according to the Krama system. But according to the material available, the indications are that they did not deviate much from these in the other traditions. In support we reproduce an extract from the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P. V. Kane (Vol 5, Pt. 2, p. 1038, fn. No. 1673) which brings into open a comparative estimate of tantric thinking in regard to the Pīṭhas. It reads:

   "It appears that in some Tantra works five Piṭhas are named (according to H. P. Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS in the Nepal Durbar Library. Calcutta, 1905, p. LXXX) viz., Oḍiyāṇa (in Orissa, says H.P. Sastri), Jala (in Jalandhar), Pūrṇa Mātaṅga in Śrīśaila and Kāmākhyā in Assam...The *Sādhanamālā* (Vol. II, pp. 453 and 455) mentions Uḍḍipāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākhyā and Śrīpīṭha. The *Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra* (Tantrik Texts, Vol. IV, in 6th Paṭala, verses 3-7) refers to five Pīṭhas viz., Uḍḍiyāna, Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā, Jalandhara and and Pūrṇagiri (vide also 3rd Paṭala, 59-

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61).'' Also vide ''The first two are respectively identified with Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two (Kāmākhyā and Kāmarūpa are identical according to others) is a controversial matter. M.M.H.P. Sastri identified Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa. His son Dr. B. Bhattacharya furnishes good ground for holding that Uḍḍiyāna was near Swat valley in N. W. India and Grousset *In the footsteps of Buddha* pp 109-110 holds the same view'' (*ibid.*, pp. 1038-39).

For the sake of relevancy it may be pointed out that Maheśvarānanda does not treat Śrīpīṭha and Uḍḍiyāṇa as two separate pīṭhas. Though Oḍḍiyāṇa is a subordinate pīṭha 'yet it ranks supreme in its effectiveness as spiritual seat. (श्रीपीठेति तस्य पूज्यतोत्कर्षेण महत्वं द्योत्यते । महत्त्वं च तदोड्ड्याणादीनामवान्तरपीठत्वेऽपि सर्वप्रतिष्ठाभूमितया प्रधानपीठत्वात् । *M.M.P.*, p. 36).

Śitikaṇṭha echoes the same view (vide, *M.P.*(*S*) pp. 2 and 50). It may be mentioned that the former belonged to Chola in Kerala, whereas the latter to Kashmir. The *Cidgagana-Candrikā*, extols Pūrṇapīṭha as the highest (पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकृतेमयं कृतं । *C.G.C.* 4. 128). There is mention of another Pīṭha e.g., Uttarapīṭha which is identical with present Kashmir—(ततो ध्यातं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं बहिः । योगिनीसिद्धसंसेव्यमुत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ।। *M.P.*(*T*). 2. 37; and उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दपीठात् । *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192). Really speaking Krama is called Uttarāmnāya because it arose in and spread out from Uttarapīṭha. This Pīṭha has escaped the notice of other Tantric works. There is still another view which tends to identify Kashmir, indeed by implication, with Oḍḍiyāna. On this view, which banks on Śivānanda's statement in the Ṛjuvimarśinī and has been quoted by Maheśvarānanda (*M.M.P.*, p. 193), Tripurā and Krama both the systems would originate from one place. However, the spokesman of this view would seem to take Uttarapīṭha and Uḍḍiyāna as one.

Cf. ''उड्डियानस्थानं चोत्तरस्यां दिशि कश्मीरसमीप एव वर्तते । साम्प्रतं स्वात नदी पश्चिमगेन्धारदेशे प्रवहति । सुवास्तुनदीद्रोणी प्राक्तनसमये औदार्यनी इति कथ्यते स्म । तस्या एव उड्डियान इत्यपि नाम ।... एष च देश: कश्मीरसमीप एव स्थित इति कृत्वा शिवानन्देन सम्प्रदायस्य कश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात् इति चोक्तं स्यात् ।''
—त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्या: कृतयश्च, Braj Vallabha Dwivedi, submitted to the 22nd session AIOC, Gauhati; also see अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।

S.S. 6, 3-4, p. 342.

The Krama subscribes to the general tantric belief that their philosophy was revealed through the Yoginīs. This belief is a legacy of the earlier stages[1] and has been retained even afterwards.[2] Such a convention suits Krama more than any other system. Because, as we are likely to see, the first recipients of the Krama wisdom were the female ascetics. Similarly, in one of mythical accounts of the system's origin, it is traced to Makāradevī. Even the famous twelve Kālikās are sometimes described as Yoginīs.[3] In this connection liberty may be taken for hazarding a suggestion that Maheśvarānanda's story of divine inspiration from a female ascetic in a dream might be a left-over of this tradition. In the beginning the Krama system was intended to cater to the spiritual urges of all strata of human society and hence it envisaged a scheme of graded emancipation. But gradually, as the time passed, greater and greater secrecy came to shroud it and it did not, perhaps, allow common man the same easy access to it as he was accustomed to enjoy. It might be one of the factors, other than historical ones, that led the system to oblivion. Some statements amply testify to it.[4] One of possible causes of such a tendency might be ascribed to the general tantric practice of total reliance on one's preceptorial lineage. And, no doubt, only a few could have

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1. तथैव योगिनीवक्त्रसम्प्रदायक्रमाप्तया ।
विद्युतकल्मषावेशा तिष्ठते चिन्मयी स्थितिः ॥
M.V.V. 2.94.
ग्राह्यग्राहकसंम्बन्धभेदः सपदि भिद्यते ।
योगिनीवक्त्रसंरूढसंप्रदायक्रमाप्तया ॥
Ibid., 2.97.

2. तदेतत् परमं गुह्यं योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ।
मुखागमम्लानभयादुद्घाट्य प्रतिपादितम् ।
M.P.(*T*), 7.168.

3. कालिकानां च योगिनीत्यनेन नाममात्र एवायं भेदो न वस्तुनि इति ।
T.A.V., II, p. 236.

4. एवं महार्थस्वरूपं पारम्पर्येण पीठवरे गुप्तमस्ति इति समासादिह सूचितम् ।
M.P.(*S*)., p. 48.
तदेतत् परमं गुह्यम् ।
M.P. (*T*), 7.168.

been the worthy custodians of the schools' secrets.[1] Likewise, the theory of Cakras was a logical deduction from reality being conceived as kinetic and continuous. The esteem, in which the Anākhyā or Saṁvit Cakras etc. are held, is too well known to require elucidation. But still in Abhinava the ritualistic significance is not so predominant. So much so that even the most characteristic theories of Vṛnda Cakra etc. are not traceable to Abhinava or to the *Tantrāloka*. But gradually the importance of the Cakras like many other aspects grew and the system came to be designated as the Cakra-krama-saṁpradāya (school of the cyclic order),[2] or the Navacakra-Sampradāya (school of the nine cycles).[3] The Nava-cakras include the five functional cycles (i.e., Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti etc.) three cycles of the optical trinity (Trinetra) i.e., Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti and the Vṛnda Cakra. Similarly another esoteric appellation of the system is found in the phrase "Ādy-

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1. गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायगम्यम् ।
M.P.(T), 4.17.
मा गा (ल्लुप्त) मिहेदृशं गुरुमुखं कालक्रमादित्यतः ।
Ibid., 1.37.
परमरहस्याः... गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्बीजम् ।
Ibid., 2.1.
कोऽपि गुरुमुखरहस्यक्रम उद्दीपितः ।
B.U.V., p. 28.
सर्वे मुखसम्प्रदायाः ।
M.P.(S), p.64.
इत्यस्माकं गुरुमुखम् ।
Ibid , p. 140.

2. विचक्षणैर्यद्यपि सम्यगुक्तो महार्थचक्रक्रमसम्प्रदायः ।
M.P.(T)., 1.2.
चक्रोल्लासविभागयुक्तिघटना सत्सम्प्रदायोज्ज्वलः ।
Ibid. 1. 35
अष्टाष्टकचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुरुक्रमौघं...।
M.M.P., p. 86.

3. नवचक्रसम्प्रदायः सोऽयं महार्थः ।
M.P.(S), p. 15.
नवचक्रीविषयः सम्प्रदायोऽन्योन्यानुप्राणनेन प्रकाश्यते ।
Ibid., p. 137.

akṣara Sampradāya" (the school of the first letter).[1] In fact the Akāra (A) is deemed to be the most important part of the entire alphabet according to the esoteric symbolism. Akāra, accordingly, is said to have four crests and represents the first stage of manifestation and assumes the cosmic dimensions.[2] It is, however, gratifying to note that the Krama system, though in later stages advocating[3] the use of wine and woman etc., which constitute the Pañcatattva of the tantras, does not preach licentiousness. And a comparatively rarer reference has been made to this aspect. The Krama authors had to subscribe to it, because they aimed at complete self-control demonstrated not only through abstinence from but also through participation in the objects of enjoyments. But the fact remains that Abhinava does not take cognizance of these things in his presentation of the Saṁviccakra and dwells on the spiritual bearing of the same through an analysis of epistemic experience. In contrast, Śivānanda II is prone to incorporate the wine etc. in the context of Saṁvic-cakra (anākhyā cakra) marking out a diversion of emphasis from spiritual inquiry to mystic experimentalism. But even here this form of worship was prescribed only at a very advanced stage of spiritual development when the things that usually lure one away could create no mental digression.

5. *Experience, Pure and Simple: Pivot of the Tantric thinking of Krama*

The whole of the above discussion may perhaps be subsumed under one single doctrine that posits the realization of identity of the Individual Soul with the Universal Soul as a fundamental premise. Reality is conceived in terms of univer-

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1. अयमाद्यक्षरसम्प्रदायो यथागुरुमुखम् ।

Ibid., p. 30.

तत आद्यक्षरसम्प्र दायः ।

Ibid., p.32.

2. इत्युभयथा अकार एव विश्वप्रसरस्यादिकोटिः स एव व्यापकत्वाद् विश्वम् ।

Ibid., p. 30.

Vide also अवर्णात्मा महामन्त्रो विश्वावरणतत्परः ।

M. P. (T). 7.147

3. Cf. *M.P.(T).* 9.51 and *M.M.P.*, p. 182.

sal idea or Experience pure and simple (Saṁvit). Experience (Saṁvit) and Reality (Sat, being) are essentially one. Hence the method preferred is not to bifurcate reality owing to the limitations of the dialectic and logic in comprehending the whole of reality, but to experience i.e., intuitively realize, the self (sat, being). Thus 'being' spells the content of 'experience' and 'experience' defines the nature and method of 'being'. In the typical Trika phraseology it is described as realization of Prakāśa through Vimarṣa. In still other words self-realization is nothing but the realization of Prakāśa as being involved in the very nature of Vimarśa. Precisely the unity of the self and the Supreme Self (आत्मपरमात्मैक्यम्) is arrived at through unity of the being (Prakāśa, Sat) and its inherent possibilities of becoming (Vimarśa, Śakti) (शक्त्यात्मनोरैक्यम्). This is the logic behind the most cherished method enjoined in terms of discovering the essential identity between the agenthood of the empirical subject and that of the Absolute (Pañcakṛtya-pariśīlana). Hence the experience of self is not a simple act of knowing but a complex one of re-knowing (Pratyabhijñā). Since logic fails us in our hopes of attaining our alogical character, the intuitive realization turns out to be a process of mystic experiencing. It is why the mystic side of our self-experience has been so ardently embarked upon.[1] Moreover, in the nature of things, *a priori* awareness leading us to the intrinsic self-experience is bound to be mystical both in and out. Hence the process of synthesis occasioning complete dilution of the subjective and objective polarities in one is equally bound to be mystic in character. Esoterics is therefore the only methodology suited to realization of the mystic goal of self-experience,[2] former

1. भव्यानामनुभवनिष्ठसम्प्रदायस्वानन्दामृतरसतृप्तये स भूयात् ॥
M.P.(*T*). 7.18.

आत्मज्ञानसमुद्यतैरिति निजैर्भावानुभासात्मकैः ।
संविन्मज्जनसारतामुपगतैः सृष्ट्यादिभिः पूजनैः ॥
Ibid., 8.30.

2. इत्थमुत्थानविषये भावानुभवभूमिषु ।
प्रत्यक्षः सर्वजन्तूनां स्थितो (ऽसौ) पूजनक्रमः ॥

अग्र्यैरावरकत्वेन ये भावाः परिवर्जिताः ।
तैरेव ज्ञानिनामित्थं जाज्वलीति परा चितिः ॥
M.P.(*T*) 9. 67-68.

remaining always subservient to the latter. It is only when the true significance of intuitive realization is lost sight of due to deficient and hastily inculcated spiritual vision of the aspirant, the esotericism becomes the rule of the day, the method and means replacing and discarding their very ideal.[1] A close study of the Tantras will demonstrate, why the Tantras give preference to what is called the inner worship (Antaryāga)[2] and to pure reflection (Bhāvanā), which in the Krama system synchronizes with the highest level of Sattarka, the principle of Right Logic. And the various rites in Krama worship will be found, as will be seen later, conducive to such a realization on the graduated scale.[3] This may be the only rationally possible implication of the process of the refinement of determinate ideality (Vikalpa-Saṁskāra), in the context of the tantric substructure of the system. Even the tantric worship aims at harmonizing the deity whom one worships and the macrocosm over which she presides. In this the Krama system joins Samayā school in discarding the external worship for the attainment of the self.[4]

Apart from the naturally dominant tendency towards mystic possibilities of self-experience, the other factor that

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1. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्यामात्रप्रपूरणात् ।
यथाकथंचिच्चक्राणां ग्रन्थ्याधारकलादिभिः ॥
वर्णक्रमान्त्यैरन्यैश्च प्रकारैरसमंजसैः ।
स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युच्चैः (केऽत्ते) ऽपि(न) ज्ञानशालिनः ॥
Ibid., 7. 187–188.

2. पूजा नाम न पुष्पाद्यैर्या मतिः क्रियते दृढा ।
निर्विकल्पे महाव्योम्नि सा पूजा ह्यादराल्लयः ॥
Ibid., 8.4.

3. अत आत्मपरिज्ञाने सम्पन्ने निर्विकल्पकः ।
विकल्पवासनाविद्धः पूजनात्मा प्रवर्तते ॥
V. Bh. 147.

4. अन्तर्यागात्मिका पूजा सर्वपूजोत्तमा प्रिये ।
बहिः पूजा विधातव्या यावज्ज्ञानं न जायते ॥
Vāmakeśvarī Tantra (*Ch.* 51).

contributed to the regularly swelling esoteric aspect of the system consists in its inter-action with the other tantric and agamic forces of the day. In this connection one should also briefly consider its relation and attitude to some other systems of philosophy of non-agamic origin. The next section is addressed to the study of this question as well.

CHAPTER IV

MUTUAL EXCHANGE WITH AND IMPACT ON THE OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL AND TANTRIC SYSTEMS

An enquiry into the sources of influences responsible for the rise and development of particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the Krama system

1. *Nature and Scope of the Proposed Enquiry*

Here we intend to concentrate upon an examination of the nature and extent of the influence exercised by the other systems of thought on the Krama system and vice versa with special reference to the specific trends evinced by Krama, naturally excluding those ideas that subscribe to the general build-up of all the tantric systems. Thus, the admission of the Sāṁkhya scheme of tattvas to the thirty-six-category scheme of all the Śaiva and Śākta tantric systems and the tantric transformation of the Sadṛśa-pariṇāmavāda doctrine into the theory of Ābhāsa-vāda etc. are ruled out from the present treatment. Similarly an analysis of the doctrinal Krama attitude towards the Veda and Vedic systems and their comparative validity is also excluded since it has been dealt with on a subsequent occasion.[1] The sole and ultimate purpose of the present treatment is to pick up and point out the source of influences that directly or indirectly inspired particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the system without attempting a comparative estimate of the various systems as such.

2. *Krama versus Spanda with Regard to the Concepts of Reality and Fourfold Absolutic Functionalism*

Let us begin with a glance at the immediate surroundings of the Krama system. The attention has already been invited to the fact that Krama was a Śaiva system with basically Śākta

1. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. I.

leanings. It becomes evident from the Krama accent on Śakti, the dynamic aspect of the Male Polarity i.e., the Lord. The word Spanda (from Spadi—to throb, the palpitate, to move slightly) is an exact counterpart in Saṁskṛta of the word 'dynamism' in English. The two commentators on the *Spanda-Kārikās*, namely, Utpala-Vaiṣṇava and Kṣemarāja, are the first authors to discover the close correlation between the two systems with regard to their two particular theses. While explaining the first Kārikā[1] in his *Nirṇaya* Kṣemarāja takes the phrase "Svaśakti-cakravibhava-prabhavam" as representing the Krama or Mahārtha ideal of the fivefold Absolutic functioning occasioned through the agency of the deities headed by Sṛṣṭi Kālī etc.[2] He further endorses his thesis by observing that the highest Mahārtha ideal is contained in the first and the last Kārikā of the *Spanda-Kārikā*.[3] The essence of the Spanda doctrine is best represented in the Mahārtha concept of the supreme reality that consists in realising the self as "power-ful" (Śaktimān) through unearthing real nature of his "powers" (Śakti) by way of five acts. This view is reiterated in his *Vimarśinī*[4] on the *Śiva-Sūtra* 1.6.[5] Our other author Utpala Vaiṣṇava, who is more thorough-going a Spanda-vādin, suggests in his commentary on the forty-fourth

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1. यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥
Sp. K. 1.

2. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या सृष्ट्यादिदेवताभिरेव विचित्रा जगतः प्रलयोदयाः संपाद्यन्ते तत्कथमेतदुक्तं यस्येत्यादि,—इत्याशंक्याह तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवम् ।
Sp. N. p.6.

3. एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकरोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।
Ibid., p. 7v.

4. यया...श्रीमत्सृष्ट्यादिशक्तिचक्रस्फारणात्मा क्रीडेयमादर्शिता । तस्यैतदाभासितस्य शक्तिचक्रस्य रहस्याम्नायाम्नातनीत्या यत्संधानं यथोचितक्रमविमर्शनम्.........। एतदेव 'यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां'... (*Sp. K.* 1.) इति 'यदा त्वेकत्र संरूढः' । *Sp. K.* 49.
इति च प्रथमचरमश्लोकाभ्यां संगृहीतम् ।
S. S. Vi., pp. 21-23.

5. शक्तिचक्रसन्धाने विश्वसंहारः ।

Kārikā[1] that this Kārikā embodies the essence of Krama teaching that one develops a state of continuous realization of the principle of Spanda through one's recourse to various methods of self-reflection.[2] And on the forty-second Kārikā[3] he makes it absolutely certain that the Spanda concepts of Bindu, Nāda, Rūpa and Rasa are the exact Spanda correspondents of the four functions of the Absolute in the Krama system.[4]

Now it is difficult to ascertain as to which of the either school is indebted to which, yet a few conclusions may tentatively be drawn. Despite the fact that both the schools are wedded to the doctrine of dynamic Absolutism, the Krama appears to pursue it with møre vigour. Hence, the Spanda system might be indebted to the Krama system for these ideas. Reasons for hazarding such a guess are as under :—

(i) Krama, being the earliest monistic Śaiva System of Kashmir, is earlier than Spanda also.

(ii) The supremacy of the Absolute vis-a-vis the same of the Absolutic Dynamism i.e., Śakti or Kālı, is a matter of controversy in view of the fundamental role assumed by the latter in the Krama system, whereas the ultimacy of the Absolute has never been questioned in the Spanda with all its accent on the dynamic aspect i.e., Spanda, that is Śakti.

(iii) The first two verses, unlike Kṣemarāja, are not interpreted in the light of the Krama system by the

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1 प्रबुद्ध: सर्वदा तिष्ठेज्ज्ञानेनालोक्य गोचरम् ।
एकत्रारोपयेत्सर्वं ततोऽन्येन न पीड्यते ॥

Sp. P., pp. 49-50.

2. एतत्क्रमार्थसारं परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।

3. अतो बिन्दुरतो नादो रूपमस्मादतो रस: ।
प्रवर्ततेऽचिरेणैव क्षोभकत्वेन देहिन: ॥
Also see Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Discovery of One's potencies as a means to self-discovery".

4. एष एवातिरहस्यक्रमार्थविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्वण-विलापनरूप: क्रमचतुष्को क्रमोऽत्रैव युक्त्यैवोक्त: ।

Ibid., p. 48.

other Spanda authors notably Rāmakaṇṭha indicating lack of unanimity with regard to the Krama impact on the Spanda.

(iv) The fortysecond and fortyfourth Kārikās have not been accorded with the Krama interpretation by Kṣemarāja unlike Utpala Vaiṣṇava indicating the same as in (iii) above.

(v) Yet, both the sub-schools of the Spanda system — the one headed by Kṣemarāja and the other by Utpala — recognize the element of the Krama theses as latent in the Spanda dicta.

3. *Krama and Kula : Bilateral Process of Influence*

Coming to the Kula system one finds that the process of influence has gone on a bilateral scale. It has been noted earlier that the Krama system, under the spell of its maintaining a parity between affirmation and negation both, adopts a completely indifferent attitude towards rituals like phallus-worship, the putting on of the matted hair and sacred ashes on the body, observance of religious vows, worship of deities, and the spiritual efficacy of Kṣetra (station) as well as Pīṭhas[1] (seat). Such an attitude comes in sharp contrast to that of the Siddhānta and Kula systems with their enjoining and prohibiting these respectively. However, with regard to the phenomenon of Pīṭha etc. Kula does not prohibit but advocates them, while they stand negated by the Mata system. Likewise, while Kula prescribes Samayācāra[2] and worship of Ovallīs, Mudrā, Chummā etc., the Mata Śāstra prohibits the same. And Krama, as usual, does not bother itself.[3] But this equilibrium of mind and posture

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1. क्षेत्रं मेलापस्थानं पीठं कामरूपादि, उपपीठं देवीकोट्टादि ।...
इह पुनरेतदुभयमपि नास्तीति ।
T. A. V., III, pp. 290-91.

2. The discrimination between what one ought to do and what one ought not is the essence of the Samayācāra—इदं कुर्यादिदं न कुर्यात् इत्येवमात्मा समयाचारः ।
T. A. V., III, p. 292.

3. T. A. 4. 258-269.

of neutrality is not maintained for long. The Pīṭha, rituals, Ovallīs, Ghara, Pallīs etc. are injected into the system under the Kula influence and we come to know of a few Ovallīs at least, namely, Mahānanda[1] and Kulārani[2] in the Krama. Similarly the line of teachers under Kula system including Yugaṇāthas and Rājaputras, which initially did not find favour with Krama, later became acceptable inasmuch as their worship was advocated in Sthiti-cakra. This question has been discussed at its proper place subsequently.[3] Even in later history we do hear a few discordant notes,[4] but once an influence has interpolated itself it is difficult to pull it out. These later developments took place in the wake of the Kula system, because there came a stage when the Kula was thought to be superior to the Krama system One has already seen that Abhinava himself elevates the Kula-prakriyā as compared with the Tantra-Prakriyā.[5] The process was logically extended to the point when Kula came to be acknowledged as constituting the crowning point of the Krama ideology[6] and even the Krama works were referred to as the Kula texts.[7] A natural outcome of such a tendency was that the Krama authors were gradually led to imbibe and import all those Kula theses that could be fitted in the Krama plan.

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1. अस्मिन्नुतरघोरवल्लिविशेषरूपे महानन्दव्यपदेश्ये ।

M. P. (*S*), p. 42.

2. कुलस्य ओवल्लीविशेषस्य......।

Ibid., p. 107; also see *M. M. P.* p. 1.

3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. III, under "Sthiti-cakra".
4. *M.P.*(*S*)., pp. 107-108.
5. कुलप्रक्रियाया: प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्य: प्राधान्यात् ।

T.A.V., I, p. 24.

6. अपितु कुलसपर्याबिम्बसंबंधवन्ध्या: ।
सक्रृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ।

M. M. P., p. 2.

7. एतत् वितत्यविख्यातै: क्रमकेलौ कुलागमे ।

Ibid., p. 190.

तद्वदस्यापि ग्राह्या व्याख्या परिमलाह्वया ।।
अस्यामर्थस्थिति: सैव या सर्वत्र कुलागमे ।
किन्तु शब्दस्य शय्यान्या नात्यन्तं सा विभिद्यते ।

Ibid., p. 199.

But, at the same time, the Kula system also could not remain immune from the impact coming from the opposite direction i.e., Krama. The most important exchange took place with regard to the theory of the twelve Kālīs or Saṁviddevīs constituting the power-cycle (Śakti-cakra).[1] This process did not remain confined to the Kula system alone but infected other systems as well, the Sāra system in particular.[2] As a natural corollary, the Anākhya-krama forced its way into the Kula fold.[3]

4. *Krama and Tripurā : Reciprocal Impact*

The other cognate creed that seems to have shaped and inspired quite a few theses of Krama is the Tripurā system in spite of its not being a Śaiva ideology. Krama owing to its temperamental attachment to the Śakti is rather soft to Tripurā, a Śākta system. Śitikaṇṭha is most alive to this influence when he defines the scope of Mahārtha as ranging from the Pīṭha (Spiritual seat) to the Samayavidyā i.e., Tripurā philosophy.[4] But for its Śaiva associations, Krama is certainly a Śākta system. He says that the Samaya-vidyā is one because it marks the summit of all Krama achievement and the total variety of the Kramas is finally reposed here.[5] Hence he describes Anākhyā and Bhāsā as Anākhyā-Sāmayeśvarī and Bhāsā-Samayeśvarī.[6] Similarly, Vṛnda-cakra, which according to Maheśvarānanda is the most important single aspect of the Krama

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1. क्रमनयसोदरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति ।

   T.A.V., III, p. 157.

2. न केवलमेता: क्रमदर्शनादावेवोक्ता यावदस्मन्नयसहोदरेषु शास्त्रेष्वपीत्याह...तत्तदनुराद्यामर्शरूपत्वमप्यासां संविदां श्री त्रिकसार एव भंग्याभिहितम् ।

   T. A. V., II, pp. 235-36.

3. यथैवासां द्वादशानामपि संविदामनाख्यक्रमे रूपं प्रविभवतं तथैव सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेष्वपि इति समुच्चितत्वमभिधातुं तदुपाधित्रयात्यय इत्युपात्तम् ।

   Ibid., p. 238.

4. वस्तुतस्तु पीठचक्रादारभ्य समयविद्यान्तं समेन साम्राज्येन महार्थ एव वक्ष्यमाणवत वोभवीति इति भाव्यतां ।

   M.P.(S), p. 56.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

system[1] is introduced by him as Śrī-cakra,[2] an equally valued part of Tripurā. There is some evidence to show that the concept of Vṛnda-cakra was not completely unknown to the Tripurā authors. The anonymous commentary on the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* (Kashmir edition) of Puṇyānanda refers to two types of Vṛnda-cakra viz., Pada-vikṣepa and Kramodaya.[3] The former represents the Absolutic capacity for infinite possibilities of self-becoming and the latter with the traditional history. It is our impression that while Śrī-cakra may be held responsible for the very inspiration of Vṛnda-cakra, the notion of Vṛnda-cakra is an export from the Krama into Tripurā. Because in early stages we do not have any record of Vṛnda in Krama, Vṛnda being a later development. But on the other hand, Śrī-cakra starts from the initial stages of the Tripurā history. Tripurā, the highest ideal of the Tripurā system, is sought to be identified with Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī[4] — the Ultimate in Krama. As has been said earlier, Jayaratha leaves no doubt about the Tripurā's identity with the Kula system.[5] If such contention be accepted without reservation, the Kula and, for that matter, the Tripurā might be said to have exercised tremendous influence on the Krama. But Tripurā has received also in return.

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1. किञ्च, श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपञ्चः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विश्राम्यति ।
M.M.P., p. 194.

2. अथ श्रीचक्रं क्रमेण उन्मुद्रयिष्यन्नादौ......।
Ibid., p. 87.

3. क्रमणं पदविक्षेपः क्रमोदयस्तेन कथ्यते द्वेधा ।
K.K.V., 35. (K.S.S.)
......एतत् वृन्दचक्रद्वयं विवृणोति ।
Ibid., comm., p. 38.

4. पराहंपरामर्शचमत्कारमयी शक्तिरेव अस्मद्दर्शने विश्रान्तिधामतया एष्टव्या यैव स्पन्दस्फुरत्तासारोर्मिहृदयसद्भावसंकर्षिणीत्रिपुरादिशब्दैस्तत्र तत्र सर्वत्र उद्घोष्यते ।
V.M.V., p. 103.

5. अनेनैव आशयेन भवद्भिरपि—
ऊर्मिरिति भोगिनीत्यपि कुब्जेति कुलेश्वरीति जगदुर्याम् ।
श्रीकालकर्षिणीत्यपि कुण्डलिनीत्यपि च नौमि तां देवीम् ॥
इत्यादि उक्तम् । तत्सर्वत्रैव साक्षात्कुलशास्त्रतया व्यपदिष्टेऽमुष्मिन् परमोपादेये शास्त्रे किमेवंविधाया व्याप्तेरनानुगुण्यं यद्वाधामात्रेणापि न स्पृष्टम् ।
Ibid., p. 28.

Anākhyā, the fourth act of the Absolute — and also Reality as such according to the four-function theory[1] (Krama-catuṣka) of the Krama system —, is probably borrowed from the latter.[2] Jayaratha also suggests that Krama advocated Sṛṣṭi-cakra and Saṁhāra-cakra as independent from each other. Tripurā borrowed and employed this doctrine with regard to the other theories of the system. For instance, the eighth and ninth cakras in Tripurā are also independent cakras.[3] This phenomenon is equally discernible in certain other spheres as well. The concept of Sattarka (Right Logic) for instance, seems to have been borrowed by the Tripurā system from the Krama despite the fact that at both the places it is brought forth as an agamic notion.[4] Likewise, the unusual fondness of Krama for Prākṛta languages is a legacy from Tripurā. Maheśvarānanda's citing a statement from *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, a Tripurā text, in support of Krama's explicit preference for Prākṛta would probably evince the veracity of this statement.

5. *Impact of Buddhist Tantricism on Krama : Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga, Anākhyā and some other Minor Doctrines*

The introduction of the Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga (six-limbed yoga) in place of Patañjali's Aṣṭāṅga (eightfold) Yoga marks a

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1. सृष्टयादिक्रमचतुष्टयोचितमेव अभिधानम् इति ।

V.M.V., p. 27.

2. व्यष्टिसमष्टिविभेदादस्यां चत्वारि बीजानि ।
सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपाणि भावनीयानि ॥

वरिवस्या-रहस्य १. ३२ ।

अनाख्या तिरोधानानुग्रहयो: समष्टि:, कृत्यपञ्चकेष्वप्यौदासीन्यावलम्बनरूपावस्थानविशेषो वा ।

Prakāśa by Bhāskara Rāya on the above, p. 23.

Vide also......सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपतया चक्रशब्दव्यपदेश्यम्...अतएव...स्वभित्तौ अनतिरिक्तानि अपि अतिरिक्तायमानानि उद्भासयन्ती निरुपाख्यपरसंविन्मात्रसतत्त्वा महात्रिपुरसन्दरीशब्दव्यपदेश्या या त्रिपुरा तत्प्रकृतिकम्...।

V.M.V., p. 26.

3. तदेवमष्टमनवमयोरपि चक्रयो: श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव एकैकविद्येति न कश्चित् विरोध: ।

Ibid., p. 71.

4. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 1.

curious departure from the general trend in the history of the Krama thought and has evaded a satisfactory answer so far. Because each of the monistic Śaiva doctrines of Kashmir abides by the Pātañjala discipline of the eightfold path. Even Abhinavagupta, who is interpreted by Jayaratha as subscribing to the theory of Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga, does not, in fact, expressly commit himself to the said thesis From a close study of him it will be found that he actually dwells on the eightfold yogic discipline. This incongruity is deliberate and is explained by Jayaratha in terms of Abhinava's underlying motive. According to Jayaratha, Abhinava wants to suggest that the number of parts as eight of the Yoga is, in any case, final and cannot be enhanced further.[1] Abhinava actually supplants Sattarka for the highest stage of the Krama process of Yoga and castigates the first five items as futile by virtue of their being external and adventitious in character. It is Jayaratha who cites a verse in order to describe the six-limbed doctrine from an unnamed source.[2] The extract in question eliminates the first three parts namely, Yama, Niyama and Āsana, from the original eightfold scheme[3] and adds Tarka or Sattarka, thus bringing the total to six. It is queer that he nowhere attempts to define the six members of the scheme individually, instead all the definitions are drawn verbatim from the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali. In such circumstances one is prone to believe that the doctrine of six-limbed Yoga was an interpolation which may possibly be traced to the Tant ric Buddhism.[4] In the *Śrī-guhya-samājatantra* (Ch. xviii) the

1. यन्नाम अत्र योगस्य स्वदर्शनोक्तानि षडङ्गान्यपहाय पातञ्जलीयं यमाद्यङ्गाष्टकम उक्तम्, तत्रायमाशयो — यत् क्वचिदपि एतदङ्गाष्टकातिरिक्तम् अन्यदङ्गान्तरं नास्ति ।
T.A.V., III, pp. 102-103.

2. प्राणायामस्तथा ध्यानं प्रत्याहारोऽथ धारणा ।
तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ॥
T.A.V., III., p. 15.

3. यम-नियम-आसन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि ।
Y.S. 2.29.

4. J. Ensink however. differs from the present author. He does not think the doctrine of Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga to be an off-shoot of Tantric Buddhism, instead it may be traced to some older tradition to which the Javano-Balinese literature is also indebted. (contd.)

Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga has been painted as the most conducive means to the highest accomplishment.[1] The detailed description of these six parts of Yoga has again been fully enlarged upon in the commentary called *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* by *Nāḍopada*.[2] It is worth mentioning that the first three Aṅgas of Yoga mentioned in the *Yoga-Sūtra* viz., Yama, Niyama and Āsana, are omitted and a new one, Anusmṛti, is added.[3] One may notice the marked similarity between the Krama and Buddhist treatment of the problem. Except the additional aspect i.e., Tarka or Anusmṛti, in their respective presentations there is virtually no difference. And one may even be tempted to go so far as to say that Jayaratha has borrowed verbatim from the *Guhya-samāja* only substituting the phrase "Tarkaścaiva" for Anusmṛtiḥ".[4] The possibility of the *Guhya-samāja* being indebted to Krama is very slender, because (i) the *Guhya-samāja*, according to its editor, B. Bhattacharya[5] dates back to the fourth century A.D.; (ii) the first and only reference to the doctrine in the Krama'works is as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century to which Jayaratha is

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The author is thankful to Ensink for sending the relevant portion of his paper. "Sutasoma's teaching to Gajavaktra, snake and the tigress" in which he has utilized some material from this dissertation. The book being in the press, while this paper was received, the author could not have the privilege of examining Ensink's observations in detail. He, however, does not see much reason to change his opinion for the time-being.

1. सेवा षडङ्गयोगेन कृत्वा साधनमुत्तमम् ।
साधयेदन्यथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा ॥
Guhya-samāja. p. 173.

2. See for detailed treatment, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 164-171.

3. प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा ।
अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ॥
Guhya-samāja, p. 173.

4. Compare
तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च षड़ङ्गो योग उच्यते ।
T.A.V., III, p. 115.
with अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडंगो योग उच्यते ।
Guhya-samāja, p. 163.

5. Cf. Introduction to *Sādhana-mālā*, II, p. xcv.

assigned; (iii) even if the doctrine had the approval of Abhinava, it does not go beyond the tenth century which is the time of Abhinava; (iv) the thesis has not been developed in its full dimensions in the Krama works whereas the Buddhist works, referred to above, have built up a complete system of esoteric yoga containing six-limbed discipline. The only doubtful line that demarcates the two schools is the place of Sattarka and Anusmṛti in their respective schemes. In the verse cited above Jayaratha follows the original order of the *Guhya-samāja* which places Anusmṛti just before Samādhi. In this way Tarka should also precede Samādhi. But from a critical perusal of Jayaratha, it will be discovered that Jayaratha and Abhinava both regard Tarka[1] as the best and highest part of Yoga and treat all other parts as subordinate to Sattarka, which alone is the direct means of self-realization. The other difference of detail consists in the concepts of Anusmṛti[2] and Sattarka.[3] Anusmṛti is the remembrance of the realisation of previous stages, while Tarka is the pure knowledge that can discern the spiritually meaningful from what is spiritually spurious. Moreover, the other five concepts of the Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga in Buddhism have an independent character whereas in Krama they seek an anchorage in Patañjali.

Buddhist tantricism apart, the philosophical Buddhism too seems to have exercised notable influence on the vital Krama

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1. तथापि हेयाद्यालोचनात् असौ उत्तममन्तरङ्गं योगस्यांगम्...।

T.A.V., III, p. 15.

Vide also

योगांगता यमादेस्तु समाध्यन्तस्य वर्ण्यते ।
स्वपूर्वपूर्वोपायत्वादन्त्यतर्कोपयोगतः ॥

T.A., 4. 96.

2. स्थिरं तु वज्रमार्गेण स्फारयति स्वधातुषु ।
विभाव्य यदनुस्मृत्या तदाकारं तु संस्मरेत् ।
अनुस्मृतिरिति ज्ञेया प्रतिभासोऽत्र जायते ।

Guhya-samāja, p. 164.

3. द्वैतशंकाश्च तर्केण तर्क्यन्त इति वर्णितम् ।

T.A., 4. 105.

dicta. Refinement of determinacy (Vikalpa-Saṁskāra), for example, evinces considerable impact of the Buddhist law of contradiction (Apohana) and theory of instantaneous being (Kṣaṇikavāda). This question has been considered in the sequel separately.[1] The enormous influence exercised by Buddhism is also evinced by the Krama doctrine of Anākhyā. The term Anākhyā standing for a coveted stage of self-accomplishment, is possibly a positive Krama interpretation of the wholesale nihilism (Śūnyatā-vāda) of the Mādhyamikas.[2] In fact, the twin notions of Śūnyatā are mutually different owing to their positive and negative character respectively. But what is important here, is to note the inspirational value of the Śūnyatā-doctrine in so far as the concept of Anākhyā is concerned. The ultimate reality being free from temporal and spatial affiliations is beyond the reach of words and, hence, is inscrutable. This is the precise implication of word Anākhyā.[3] The Śūnyatā-doctrine, which is based on the original Buddhist maxim i.e., "all is void" (Sarvam Śūnyam), was not adopted from the Mahāyānic philosophers direct but through the esoteric Buddhists who tried to give it a positive accent instead of its all-devouring nihilistic thesis pleading the essencelessness and sheer absurdity of the universe of our discourse. Thus, of the four gradations in the Śūnyatā doctrine suggested by Nāgārjuna in his *Pañca-krama* the final one viz., Sarva-śūnya, is identified with supreme omniscience. This is the ultimate truth, the unity that transcends the scope of verbal expression.

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1. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. I.

2. शून्यताभिमानिनो माध्यमिकाश्च अनाख्याकक्ष्यायामिव स्वात्ममात्रस्फुरत्तालक्षणमात्मतत्त्व-माहु: ।

   M.M.P., p. 11.

   "......शून्यात्मा शून्यवादिनाम् ।......स एव च महार्थात्मा माहार्थिकमनीषिणाम् ॥

   Ibid., p. 14.

3. दिक्कालकलनोन्मुक्ता देशोद्देशाविशेषिणी ।
   व्यपदेष्टुमशक्या सावकथ्या परमार्थत: ॥

   V.Bh., 14.

From its absolute self-luminous purity proceeds the Enlightened One (Buddha).[1] Thus the Anākhyā doctrine is much nearer to the Śūnyatā-doctrine of the esoteric Buddhism.[2] But the same is poles apart from that of the philosophical Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamika. Śivopādhyāya, in fact, has noted this difference.[3]

6. *Bhartṛhari's Impact on Krama*

Yet another single source that must be credited with supplying the bulk of the sub-structural material of the Krama system is met in Bhartṛhari. His is the unique contribution. Because, the basic pattern of the process of the Vikalpa-saṁskāra has been largely determined by that of his Śabda-saṁskāra and Śabda-pūrva-yoga. Moreover Kālī, the absolute and ultimate principle as conceived by Krama, is by and large the Krama transformation of Bhartṛhari's idea of the Kāla-Śakti or Krama-Śakti.[4] Similarly, the fourfold or fivefold theory of

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1. शून्यत्रयविशुद्धिर्या प्रभास्वरम् इहोच्यते ॥
सर्वशून्यपदं तच्च ज्ञानत्रयविशुद्धितः ।
ज्ञानशुद्धिपदं तत्त्वं सर्वज्ञत्वमनुत्तरम् ॥
निर्विकारं निराभासं निर्द्वन्द्वं परमं शिवम् ।
अस्तीति न च नास्तीति न च तद्वाक्यगोचरम् ॥
अतः प्रभास्वरात् शुद्धात् ज्ञानत्रयसमुद्भवः ।
द्वात्रिंशल्लक्षणधरो ह्यस्तीति व्यञ्जनान्वितः ।
सर्वाकारवरोपेतः सर्वज्ञो जायते ततः ॥
Pañca-krama, M.S., pp. 22 (B), 23(A), quoted by Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 46.

2. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात्......
एषैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता...शून्यभूमिः...परमशिवत्वेन उपदिष्टा ।
V.Bh V., p. 141

3. तेन सुगतसुतभाविता शून्यभूरन्या, देवीनयोपासिनां च अन्या ।
Ibid., p. 110.
For fear of irrelevance further reference to their differences has not been embarked upon. However, for further details about the basic differences between esoteric Buddhism and Kashmir Śaivism see *Sp.N.*, pp. 26-28.

4. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 2.

speech in the Krama system shows the unmistakable signs of having been developed under the spell of Bhartṛhari's theory of Śabda-brahman or Vāk with its inherently emergent character.[1] All these have been discussed in their proper contexts.

7. *Kashmir Śaivism and Pāñcarātra : Certain Unsettled Issues*

Let us advert to a slightly different issue. We know of one more agamic system, that is, the Pāñcarātra system. It is yet one of the big question marks of the history of Indian thought as to what was the exact nexus between the Kashmir Śaivism and the Pāñcarātra. We find Pāñcarātra bracketed with Buddhists etc. for the purpose of criticism in the Śaiva works.[2] They are assigned to the realm of Avyakta, i.e., Prakṛti, in the Śaiva scheme.[3] Similarly the Pāñcarātra have been grouped into two classes e.g., Saṁkarṣaṇa Pāñcarātra and Saṁhitā-Pāñcarātra.[4] These references go to indicate that the Kashmir Śaivism was fully familiar with the Pāñcarātra doctrine, whatever be the cause of such familiarity. What is more remarkable is to find signs which suggest, though do not define, that some sort of relation and exchange did subsist between the two. In support, an appeal may be made to the extracts cited from the Pāñcarātra works. Thus Utpalavaiṣṇava quotes from the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* with approval[5] and Maheśvarānanda from the *Lakṣmī-tantra.*[6] Yogarāja, too, quotes from the *Lakṣmī-Saṁhita.*[7] On

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1. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 7.
2. *T.A.*, 4. 22, 26, 29; *M.V.T.* 3.5.; *V.Bh. V.*, p. 117; *Sp.N.*, p. 14.
3. इति पाञ्चरात्राः परस्याः प्रकृतेः परिणामाभ्युपगमात् अव्यक्ते एव अभिनिविष्टाः ।
P.Hr., p. 55.
4. अन्तःकरणचैतसिकाः संकर्षणपाञ्चरात्रिकाः ।
Nareśvara-Parīkṣā, K.S.S., p. 87.
परिणतिवेदान्तविदः संहितापाञ्चरात्राः ।
Ibid., p. 91.
5. अन्यच्च जयाख्यसंहितायाम् ।
Sp.P., p. 9.
6. *M.M.P.*, pp. 67, 182.
7. *P.S.V.*, p. 164.

the other end, Yāmunācārya, in his famous work *Āgama-prāmāṇya* speaks of his another work known as *Kāśmīrāgama-prāmāṇya* which probably dealt with the validity of the Kashmir āgamas.[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that Maheśvarānanda quotes from one *Rahasyāmnāya*.[2] This work has also been alluded to by Naṭanānandanātha in his commentary *Cidvallī*[3] on the *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*. In the Pāñcarātra tradition the Rahasyāmnāya is identified with the Ekāyana-veda.[4] According to Vedānta Deśika the central theme of the *Kāśmīr-āgama-prāmāṇya* has been to expound and establish the impersonal origin of the *Ekāyana-veda*.[5] Pt. V. Krishnamacarya, the editor of the Adyar edition of the *Lakṣmītantra*, is of the view that the alleged extracts from the *Pāñcarātra-Śruti* and *Pāñcarātra-upaniṣad* etc. in the *Spanda-Pradīpikā* by Utpala Vaiṣṇava are most probably taken from the *Ekāyana-veda*, that is, *Rahasyāmnāya*.[6] It is unfortunate that the text of the *Rahasyāmnāya* is now lost to us. It is very difficult to assert that the two *Rahasyāmnāyas* (one in the system and other in the Pāñcarātra) are one. Because the extracts ascribed to the *Rahasyāmnāya* in the Śaiva works are more of esoteric nature and the pattern suggested is that of an agamic treatise. It is, therefore, fraught with serious obstacles to the precise relationship between the Kashmir Śaivism and the Pāñcarātra. Yet the fact remains that the two were closely related and even influenced each other. It is a pity that we can neither determine the nature nor gauge the intensity of mutual influence, if any.

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1. *Cf. M.M.P.*, pp. 67, 182.
   Also see, *Lakṣmī Tantra*, Int., ed. V. Krishnamacharya, p. 5.
2. *M.M.P.*, p. 182.
3. pp. 19-20, 21, 42, 55, 68 (Madras edn.)
4. आद्यमेकायनं वेदं रहस्याम्नायसंज्ञितम् ।
   Īśvara-Saṁhitā, 21. 531.
5. यथा चैकायनशाखायाम् अपौरुषेयत्वं, तथा काश्मीरागमप्रामाण्य एवं प्रपंचितमिति नेह प्रस्तूयते ।
   Pāñcarātra-rakṣā, Vedāntadeśika-granthamālā, ed. Annangaracarya, p. 95. This statement is repeated by Vedānta Deśika in the *Nyāya-Pariśuddhi*, p. 168 (2nd Āhnika, Śabdādhyāya).
6. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, Introduction, p. 5.

8. *Impact of Krama on Tantricism in General*

The biggest contribution made by Krama to the history of tantric thought lies in the emergence of various Krama-creeds within the fold of cognate tantric doctrines. Thus the Tripurā and many other Śākta systems have evolved their own code of Krama. Even the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava tantricism has gone ahead with evolving its own Krama-doctrine. In fact all branches and schools of Indian tantricism whether they be Śākta, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava have embraced the Krama-idea by heart and given vent to it both ritually and spiritually. The large number of Krama texts such as the *Krama-stuti* of Śaṁkara,[1] *Krama-Dīpikā* of Keśava Bhaṭṭa,[2] *Kramottama*,[3] *Krama-ratna*,[4] *Krama-ratnamālā*,[5] *Krama-saṁgraha*,[6] *Krama-sandhāna*,[7] *Krama-mālikā*,[8] *Śrī-krama-saṁhitā*,[9] and *Krama-vāsanā*[10] etc. add weight to the above contention.

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1. *Vide*, *Saubhāgyavardhinī* by Kaivalyāśrama on the *Ānanda-Laharī*, pp. 12. 45. The same on *Saundarya-laharī*, p. 36.
2. *Vide*, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library*, Vol. I, 1932, Sec. viii, no 47.
3. *Vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library*, Vol. 1, 1932, no. 48; also *Cat. Cat.*, p. 132.
4. *Vide*, *Cat.Cat.*, p. 132.
5. *Vide Cat.Cat.*, p. 132.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Ibid*.
8. *Vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library*, Mysore, p. 3.
9. *Vide Cat.Cat.*, p. 668.
10. *Vide*, *M.M.P.*, pp. 115, 117.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENT TRADITIONS AND SUB-SCHOOLS

A critical evaluation of the potential richness of the Krama system evinced through the divergent trends of internal thinking in respect of the basic issues and resulting consequences.

1. *Potential Richness of the Krama System*

The value of a philosophical system is determined by its capacity to divergent and manifold ways of reacting to the presented data or stimuli. If a system, within its confines, can inspire many a mode of looking at the problems posed to or by it, without affecting its consistency adversely, its vitality and richness would require no further testimony. Judging on this criterion the Krama would emerge as a potentially creative and substantially rich system. The contention turns into a conviction when a keen eye discovers not only the presence of different traditions but also the rise of a few sub-schools inside the Krama-fold. This enquiry, therefore, is directed to examining the identity of such schools and nature of the differing traditions.

In the Kashmir Śaivism one encounters two texts namely, the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi* and the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya* ascribed to two sub-schools, namely, the Sāhasa-school and the Chummā-school. It may, however, be held that these two schools positively belong to the Krama system. Let us see how and why.

2. *The Sāhasa Sub-School*

With regard to the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi* it is explicitly averred that its main theme is to propound that one's real nature is acquired by the firm stay in the pre-eminent Sāhasa.[1]

1. महासाहसवृत्त्या स्वरूपलाभः ।

Sūtra 1.

Hence, the commentator Ananta Śaktipāda styles the system as Mahā-sāhasa-carcā-saṁpradāya (School dealing with the great Sāhasa).[1] In his enthusiasm to focus the attention on the individuality of the system he offers his benedictory salutation to the principle of Sāhasa.[2]

Sāhasa literally means an unexpected or forceful happening. Therefore, from the Śaivistic point of view, it stands for the highest state of inspiration or self-revelation which needs no preliminary preparation and which is said to take place often under the shadow of extremely intense bestowal of the divine grace. It transcends deterministic order and is a purely indeterminate state of self-intuiting awareness.[3]

The notion of Sāhasa as underlining the sudden and forceful self-realization has never been unknown to the Kashmir Śaivism. The concepts of Haṭhapāka and Alaṁgrāsa owe their being to the principle of Sāhasa[4] Likewise, it may also be noted that one of the eight approaches to the Vṛnda-cakra is spelt by Mudrā-krama which carries five Mudrās under it to be discussed subsequently.[5] Of these five Mudrās, Khecarī is deemed to be the highest and belongs to the realm of Śāmbhava-siddhas. All other Mudrās are derived from Khecarī, the

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1. ...महासाहसचर्चासम्प्रदायं निरूप्य...।

V.N.S.V., p. 3.

2. तन्नौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् ।

V.N.S.V., p. 1, verse 1.

3. अतितीव्रातितीव्रतरविश्रृंखलशक्तिपाताघ्रातस्य स्वस्वरूपसमाविष्टस्य कस्यचित् क्वचित् कदाचित् अकस्मादेव महासाहसवृत्त्या...निरावरणमहाशून्यतासमावेशनिष्ठया स्वरूपलाभः ......भवति इति रहस्यार्थः ।

V.N S.V., p. 2.

4. अलंङ्ग्रासक्रमः सोऽयं महासाहसजन्मभूः ।

M P.(T). 2.29.

For these concepts cf. Pt. II, Ch. 5, "The Place of Vṛnda Cakra and Significance of the Haṭhapāka Process."

5. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 5.

primal Mudrā.[1] Ananta Śaktipāda presents the Khecarī-dṛṣṭi as the most cardinal tenet of the Sāhasa-school.[2] This view, on a close scrutiny, will be found to have been anticipated by Abhinava who in the 32nd Āhnika of the *Tantrāloka*, which is devoted to the exclusive treatment of Mudrās, cites from the *Bhargaśikhā*, though not a text of his own school,[3] in support of his contention. In this school the Khecarī Mudrā has eight varieties, the highest going by the title of Vīra-bhairava.[4] This is on a par with the Khecarī proper. The Vīra-bhairava Mudrā, which is nothing short of Khecarī, consists in one's entry or entrenchment in the state, technically known as Sāhasa. Hence it is also portrayed as Sāhasa Mudrā.[5] The striking analogue between the Sāhasa-mudrā as an embodiment of Khecarī of the *Bhargaśikhā* on the one hand, and the Sāhasa-principle as incumbent upon the Khecara-doctrine of the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtra* on the other, gives one further insight into the more antique beginnings of the concept that later bloomed in the form of a sub-system. The principle of Great Sāhasa has always remained charged with the responsibility of sub-merging

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1. एका मुद्रा खेचरी च मुद्रौघः प्राणितो यया: ।

T.A., 32. 65.

2. सर्वत्र खेचरदृशा प्रविराजते यत् तन्नौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् ॥

V.N.S V., p. 1.

The phrase Mahā-vismaya-Mudrā in the 13th sūtra of the *Vātūlanātha-sūtra* has been explained in the following manner—

महाविस्मयः च विगतो विनष्टः स्मयो मितामिताहंकारदर्पः सर्वोल्लंघनवृत्त्या स्वरूपानुप्रवेशः । अथ च महाविस्मयः स्वपरभेदविस्मरणात् झटिति निरन्तरनिरर्गल-खेचरवृत्तिसमावेशः । सैव सर्वमुद्राणां क्रोडीकरणात् मुद्रा तस्या मौनपदसमावेशमयता ।

V N.S V., p. 18.

3. अस्या एव सर्वत्र अविगीततां दर्शयितुं शास्त्रान्तरतोऽपि सप्रभेदं रूपमाह ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 329.

4. साहसानुप्रवेशेन कुचितं हस्तयुग्मकम् ।
अधोवीक्षणशीलं च सम्यग्दृष्टिसमन्वितम् ॥
वीरभैरवसंज्ञेयं खेचरी बोधवर्धिनी ।
अष्टधेत्थं वर्णिता श्रीभर्गाष्टकशिखाकुले ॥

T.A., 23. 61-62.

5. ...साहसमुद्रानुप्रवेशेन झटिति स्वात्मानं पातयन्निव यदा योगी वर्धितबोधो भवेत्, तदैव इयं वीरभैरवसंज्ञा अष्टमी ।

T.A.V., XII, pp. 332-33.

our total associations with the world of objectivity.[1] This marks the climax of the Kramic ascent and, for that matter, the highest stage of the Kula achievement as well. It appears that the Sāhasa school owed its origin to the internal motive of those who intended to emphasize the unique and irresistible vigour of the Sāhasa method.

Now Sāhasa as Śūnyatā-samāveśa, that is, immersion of the self in great vacuity, is no doubt a Krama phenomenon. Anantaśaktipāda is quite assertive on this point when he depicts the above viewpoint as the gist of the Mahānaya school.[2] The other factor strengthening one's belief in the equation of Sāhasa with Krama stems from the fact that the entire spiritual wealth of the book is attributed to Niṣkriyānanda-nātha who is avowedly a Krama author,[3] as will be pointed out later. Moreover, the text employs the typical Krama idiom while describing the fivefold Absolutic functioning etc.[4] In addition to its oral tradition being traced back to the female monastic deities (Pīṭhadevīs) who took some accomplished aspirant in their favour.[5] This, too, is also a Krama characteristic.

3. *The Chummā Sub-school*

From the Sāhasa sub-school we proceed to examine the Chumma sub-school to which the hitherto unpublished text i.e., *Chummā Saṁpradāya*, is ascribed.[6] The exact meaning of the word

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1. महासाहसयोगविलीनाखिलवृत्तिकः ॥

   M.V.V. 2. 86.

2. इत्थं महानयोक्तदृशा सर्वशास्त्रप्रपञ्चोत्तीर्णत्वादवाच्यं किमपि...आसूत्रितमहाशून्यता-समावेशमावेद्य......।

   V.N.S.V., p. 5.

3. *V.N.S.V.*, p. 4.
4. उद्योगावभासचर्वणालङ्ग्रासविश्रान्तिरूपाणाम्...।

   Ibid., p. 13. Also see p. 12.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
6. परतरमनिकेतं तत्त्वमार्गस्थितं ते
   निरुपमपदछुम्मासंप्रदायं समन्तात् ।
   स्वरसवशतयाहं त्वत्कृपाघ्रातचित्तः
   प्रकटतरवचोभिर्दर्शयाम्याशु नूनम् ॥

   C.S.(MS)., folio. 1.

Chummā is somewhat obscure. Nowhere in the text itself has an attempt been made to interpret the word. In the *Tantrāloka* the word Chummā comes twice. At one place,[1] it is used as a technical concept and is intended to suggest that Chummās and Mudrās, like Pallī and Ghara etc., change with the change of preceptorial line. In the other place he enumerates six Chummās[2] without caring, in the least, for the nature and meaning of the word Chummā. From the nature of these, the Chummās probably mean the physiological centres of spirituality. A slightly clearer idea is furnished by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the *Svacchanda Tantra*.[3] He says, Chummakā is a technical name (Pāribhāṣikī Saṁjñā) and represents the system one belongs to.[4] The main purport of the Chummā theory is to preserve the secretive and esoteric nature of the system and to present the same as well.[5] The word Śarma might be its synonym.[6] The Chummā

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1. मुद्रा छुम्मेति तेषां च विधानं स्वपरस्थितम् ।

   T.A., 4. 268.

2. द्विदशान्तोर्ध्वगकुण्डलिबैन्दवहृन्नाभिकन्दमिति छुम्मा: ।

   T.A., 29.37.

   Cf. छुम्मका: संप्रवक्ष्यामि कुलाम्नाये यथास्थिता: ।
   अतीतं प्रथमस्यापि द्वितीयस्य तु कुण्डली ॥
   भ्रूमध्ये वै तृतीयस्य संघट्टश्च चतुर्थके ।
   नाभिस्तु पञ्चमस्येव जन्माधारस्तु षष्ठके ॥

   Quoted from the *Kula-Krīḍāvatāra*,
   T.A.V., XI, pp. 228-29.

3. जपध्यानादियुक्तस्य चर्याव्रतधरस्य च ।
   छुम्मका: संप्रवक्ष्यामि साधकस्य वरानने ॥

   Sv.T., 15.1.

4. छुम्मका तत्समयानुप्रविष्टसंचित्या पारिभाषिकी संज्ञा ।

   Sv.T.V., VI, p. 126.

5. अथ समयिमध्ये समयिनां तान्त्रिकव्यवहारगोपनेन निर्विघ्नसिद्धिसम्पत्त्यर्थं प्राक्प्रमेयशेषतया पटलमारभमाणश्छुम्मकाशर्मपर्यायपारिभाषिकसंज्ञाभिलोकोत्तरव्यवहारप्रवर्तनेन गूढतया शास्त्रस्य अस्य रहस्यतां दर्शयितुम्...।

   Ibid., p. 125.

6. See preceding note.

or Chummakā, perhaps, stood for the most relevant and useful aspect of a certain mystic or occult rite.[1] It is difficult to be absolutely sure whether or not one should identify these Chummakās with the Chummā of the *Chummā Sampradāya.* Needless to say, that the work abounds in esoteric symbolism and hence the mysterious and secretive aspect of the system is well preserved. In this respect both the texts stand on the same footing. Yet, one can smell that the Chummās were reduced to two categories — secondary and ultimate. Although the attitude of the *Chummā Sampradāya* towards the secondary Chummās, which include the above Chummās of Abhinava and Kṣemarāja, is not known, no doubt is left with regard to the primary Chummā which has been designated as the Paryanta Chummā. Now this is interesting to see that the notion of the ultimate Chummā has been explained in terms of Sāhasa[2] which is the continuous transcendental principle.

4. *Sāhasa and Chummā are Identical*

The equation of Sāhasa and Paryanta-Chummā offers a strong ground for arriving at the identity of the Chummā with the Krama. Another phase of interest in respect of this equation is their unflinching adherence to oral nature of their respective traditions. In pursuance to this tendency the Sāhasa school is termed "Vaktrāmnāya" (oral revelation or tradition)[3] and the Chummā-school is depicted as having been handed down exclusively through the medium of oral transmission.[4] The hypothesis is further vindicated by the fact that the authorship of the *Chummā Sampradāya*, too, is attributed to Niṣkriyā-

1. सर्वेषामेषां यागोपयोगिद्रव्यविशेषविषयां छुम्मकामाह...परमोपादेयत्वमित्येवं छुम्मकया निर्देशः ।

   Ibid., p. 127.

2. महापर्यन्तसंबोधपरछुम्ममहोदयः ।
   नानादर्शनसंभूतचर्चाभिः महाद्भुतः ॥
   वक्त्राद्वक्त्रक्रमोद्भूतसाहसाख्यो महाद्भुतः ।
   कालाकालोभयोल्लसासंक्षयात्सततोदितः ॥

   C.S. (MS), folio, 6.

3. *Cf. V.N.S.V.*, pp. 18-19.
4. *Cf.* fn. 1, p. 55 supra.

nandanātha.[1] The only difference between the two works being that the *Vātūlanātha-sūtrāṇi* contains the cardinal features of the spiritual wisdom received by Niṣkriyānanda and thereby remains his indirect work, whereas the *Chummā Saṁpradāya* is his direct work. This adds a touch of conclusiveness to the conclusions : that there is no basic difference between the concepts of Chummā and Sāhasa, in their final analysis and shape ; that both of the Sāhasa and Chummā belong to the realm of Krama tantricism ; and that Niṣkriyānanda may be credited with elevating the ordinary notions of the system to the rank and status of a sub-system. But one must not forget that this process must have taken time and hence such a development seems to be a later phenomenon. Moreso, when we already know that the Chummās etc. were not so favourably viewed in the earlier phase of the Krama system.

5. *Another Sub-School of Krama*

There is an oblique reference to another sub-school of the Krama in the 29th Āhnika of the *Tantrāloka*. This school has not been named as such but is said to be a progeny of a mixture of the two theses, one propounded in the *Devyā-yāmala* and other in the *Mādhavakula*, which by itself is a part of the *Tantrarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*.[2] In this school, spearheaded by a section of teachers, worship and adoration of one's preceptorial line along with Pīṭha, Kṣetra etc. are not altogether vanished.[3] In accordance with the thesis, the Pīṭhas have been assigned to the different parts of the body,[4] details of which bear no relevance to the problem in question. This mode of veneration provides the aspirant to contemplate and, therefore, visualize the

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1. Cf. Ch. 6.
2. श्रीमाधवकुले इति श्रीतन्त्रराजभट्टारकग्रन्थैकदेशभूते इत्यर्थः। अत्र हि केषांचन गुरूणां श्रीदेव्यायामलश्रीमाधवकुलार्थसम्मेलनया सम्प्रदायः समस्ति ।

   T.A.V., XI, p. 41.
3. पीठक्षेत्रादिभिः साकम् कुर्याद्वा कुलपूजनम् ।
   यथा श्रीमाधवकुले परमेशेन भाषितम् ॥

   T.A., 29. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, 29. 52-63.

Pīṭhas and their guardian deities as essentially identical with the self.[1]

Now the tenability of the present hypothesis that thrives on the possibility of a fresh school under the Krama system is a very delicate affair. Because it simply depends upon how we interpret the word "Matāntara" (Mata=view, ideology) employed by Jayaratha in this connection.[2] Since the entire 29th Āhnika deals with the Kula system,[3] "Matāntara" must mean something different from the main thesis under discussion. If 'Mata' stands for a view, it will mean "a different view from the general choir of the Kula system" ; and if we take 'Mata' to convey the sense of an ideology, it will mean "the different ideology". In the first case, it is a simple deviation within the Kula system itself. In the second case, it is another system. If we are in for the second meaning, the only system that occupies the focus happens to be the Krama. For the reference to the concepts of Krama-catuṣṭaya[4] and Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī[5] does not require further explanation for our holding so. Of these the former concept belongs to the *Mādhavakula*, while the latter to the *Devīyāmala*.

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1. *Ibid.*, 29. 64.
2. अर्चाप्रकारासूत्रणाय अत्र ससंवादं मतान्तरमपि अभिधातुमाह ।
   T.A.V., XI, p. 40.
3. अथ सर्वाप्युपासेयं कुलप्रक्रिययोच्यते ॥
   T.A., 29.
   This is to be noted that the distinction between Kula-prakriyā and Tantra-prakriyā is retained even here. *Vide*
   ननु कुलप्रक्रियायाः प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्यः किं नाम वैलक्ष्ण्यम् यदेवमधिकारिभेदोऽपि विवक्षित इत्याशंक्याह
   T.A.V., XI, p. 2;
   Vide also ननु एवमाधारभेदवदितिकर्तव्यतापि अत्र किं तन्त्रप्रक्रियातः किञ्चिद् विभिद्यते न वा इत्याशंक्याह ।
   Ibid., p. 6.
4. सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानामक्रमचतुष्टयम् ।
   पीठश्मशानसहितं पूजयेद्भोगमोक्षयोः ॥
   T.A., 29-57.
5. श्रीदेव्यायामले हि देवीत्रयं श्रीसंकर्षिणी चेति चतुष्टयम ।
   T.A.V., XI, p. 41.

6. *Divergent Traditions and Tendencies with Regard to the Specific Problems*

Coming back to the Krama system proper, we find the volume of controversies and differences of opinion on many a question does not appear to shrink instead swells up.[1] The following lines will bear this out.

(a) *Two Traditions Regarding the Nature and Status of the Absolute and its Consequences*

There are two definite schools or traditions with reference to the nature and status of the Absolute. These tendencies seem to have their root in the Krama āgamas from the beginning, as will be pointed out at the appropriate occasion, which resulted in two categories of āgamas — Devī oriented and Śiva-oriented. The scholars affiliated with Somānanda and his spiritual descendants regarded Śiva to be the ultimate reality.[2] The rest differed and reckoned Kālī or Devī to be the ultimate truth. The very term "Kālī-naya" as an equivalent for the Krama-naya smacks of reaction on the part of those who revolted against Śiva's supremacy. Somānanda's obsession with the grammarian's convention reducing the feminine gender to be a particular form of the masculine was, to some extent, responsible for his opposition to the female personality of the Supreme Being. Reference to the female form anywhere, were the outcome of the intensive devotion of the devotee to the deity.[3] On the basis of the material provided by Somānanda and Utpala, it appears that a real confrontation took place between the two

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1. संप्रदायभेदेन व्याख्यानविशेषः स्थाने स्थाने दृश्यते ।
M.P.(S), p. 81.
पारम्पर्येण अनुरुन्धानाः सर्वमुखसंप्रदायाः यथा व्यवस्थाप्यमानाः तथा प्रतिष्ठां लभन्ते ।
Ibid., p. 84.

2. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ताः ।
तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्थानसंज्ञं जगदेकसारम् ॥
K.S.(A), 28.

3. लिंगविशेषान्यथानुपपत्त्या...। यैः शक्तेः परत्वं गीयते तैस्तया धर्मभूतया धर्मी स्वाश्रयः स्वतन्त्रो वास्तवाभेदयुक्त्या देवः शिवः प्रकाशितः ।
S.Dṛ.V., p. 95.

opposing protagonists.[1] But such a difference of emphasis has more far-reaching implications than is generally recognised, because this is a Krama transformation of the general Śaiva problem that calls for the evaluation of the precise relation between Prakāśa and Vimarśa aspects of Reality. In this context Prakāśa is called as Parameśvara, Manthāna or Manthāna-bhairava ; and Śakti or Vimarśa as Kālī, Devī or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī. Consequently, those who declare Śiva to be the ultimate, treat Kālī or Śakti as His manifestation and hence relegate it (Śakti) as slightly subsidiary. In this case Bhāsā and Anākhyā in their respective domains come to be regarded as His functions. Vyomeśvarī or Vyoma-vāmeśvarī, under Pañcavāha (five flow doctrine) are also deduced from Him. In this connection it is amusing to watch the exponents of the ultimacy of the male aspect subscribing to the twelve-aspect theory (Dvadaśa Kālīs) under Saṁviccakra. Likewise, these schoolmen are also constrained to prescribe only sixty-four aspects, excepting five vāhas, under Vṛnda Cakra. On the other hand, the other section of the scholars wedded to supremacy of the female aspect naturally deviates from the above premises. For them Śakti i.e., Absolutic dynamism, itself turns out to be the Dynamic Reality. It is the Absolute *per se*. In their case Śiva is rendered somewhat secondary to Devī or Kālī. Bhāsā or Anākhyā, as the case may be, is identified with reality as such. Similarly, the supreme Vāha called Vyoma-vāmeśvarī is not distinguished from Kālī as such. Interestingly enough, again the members of this school subscribe to the thirteen-aspect theory (Trayodaśa Kālīs) under Anākhyā cakra i.e., Saṁviccakra. The consequences may be multiplied. Instead of sixty-four they propound sixty-five mystic categories as constituting Vṛnda-cakra. In fact, in such cases the ultimate reality is treated as forming part of the whole episode, whereas in the Śiva-oriented doctrine the ultimate is treated separately.

(b) *These two traditions vis-a-vis Pentadic and Quartic tendencies with special reference to the absolutic functioning*

Sometimes, though not necessarily, a handsome distance

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1. अद्वयवाद: स्थित: पश्यन्तीविचारादनन्तरं स्वयूथ्यानद्वयवादिन: प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भ: । *Ibid.*, p. 94.

is tried to be maintained between the two schools even with reference to the Absolutic functioning. Accordingly, the believers in the ultimacy of Kālī are thought to subscribe to the five-function theory, whereas the others, who believe in the absoluteness of Śiva, to the four-function one.[1] But these are overlappings and no uniform rule can be laid down in this regard. Although divergence of views on the nature and number of the Absolute's functions itself constitutes a very vital schism in the ranks of the system and accounts for several developments. This difference is vital in the sense that it has direct bearings on the meaning of the word Krama, as has been hinted earlier.[2] This is in fact the original source of pentadic and quartic tendencies in general that have gone a long way in determining the general outlines of the system. It may be recalled that the entire Kashmir Śaivism (monistic branch) subscribes to the theory of the five functions of the Absolute, but barring a tacit acceptance a serious attempt has never been made to explore and study the philosophic and esoteric bearings of the theory. The two tendencies referred to above are the logical outcome of such an analysis, both conscious and sub-conscious, on the part of the Krama thinker.

(*c*) *Quartic Tendency*

Thus under the quartic tendency an attempt is made to present the system's basic concepts in terms of four or groups of four. In this case the fifth function (Anugraha or Bhāsā) is subsumed under the fourth act (Tirodhāna or Anākhyā). In consequence, the fifth power (Cit) of the Absolute is again subsumed under the fourth one (Ānanda). Factually, the fourth state marks the synthesis. As a natural upshot, the ultimate reality in this case comes to be designated as Anākhyā and not Bhāsā. Nevertheless, from the arrangement of the twelve Kālikās in the three groups of four each as presented by Jayaratha it appears that Abhinava too was inclined to favour the four-function theory.[3] According to him, the four godly acts

1. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 3.
2. *Cf.* Ch. 2, supra.
3. *Cf.* Pt. II, Ch. 3.

Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṁhāra and Anākhyā in relation to each of the subject, object and the means of knowledge respectively give us the twelve deities. Again under this scheme the functional cycles such as Sṛṣṭi-cakra etc. number four and end with the Anākhyā cakra. Likewise, a deeper significance is attached to the four cycles e.g., Pañcavāha, Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti.[1] The biggest impact of the quartic tendency is seen in the theory of speech. Despite the efforts to introduce Sūkṣmā, as we shall subsequently see, to augment the number of the aspects of speech to five, the sizeable majority of the Krama thinkers has always sided with the theory of fourfold speech [2]

(*d*) *Pentadic Tendency*

Yet the pentadic tendency appears to have been a greater favourite of the Krama system in general The tendency is manifest in attempts to present the concepts of the systems in terms of five or groups of five notions. Thus the primary pentad goes by the name of Pañcavāha representing the five flows of the self-emanative spiritual energy ranging from Vyoma-vāmeśvarī to Bhūcarī. The functions of the Absolute which this section fervently expounds are five—Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Pralaya, Anākhyā and Bhāsā. The Absolutic powers are also five—Cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. Maheśvarānanda under the influence of this tendency adds Sūkṣmā to the fourfold division of speech maintained hitherto by the system. Now these run as—Parā, Sūkṣmā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī. The esoterically and metaphysically symbolic groups, which are enjoined for contemplation, also number five — Śrīpīṭha, Pañcavāha, Netratraya, Vṛnda Cakra and Gurupaṅkti.[3] Of these the Vṛnda-cakra, which according to Maheśvarānanda represents quintessence of the Krama thinking, contains

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1. यत्पीठचक्रार्चितपञ्चवाहप्रकाशमानन्दखमूर्तिचक्रम् ।
अष्टाष्टचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुरुक्रमौघं सचतुष्टयार्थम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 86.

2. *Vide* Pt. II, Ch. 7, "The Stages of Vāk etc."

3. श्रीपीठपञ्चवाहनेत्रत्रयवृन्दचक्राणि स्मरत ।
स्मरत च गुरूणां पंक्ति पञ्च च शक्तीः सृष्टिप्रमुखाः ॥

M.M.P., p. 86.

many a pentad.[1] The entire Vṛnda Cakra centres round the five Siddhas and their numerous significations. These Siddhas are — Jñāna, Mantra, Melāpa, Śākta and Śāmbhava. Under the Vṛnda-cakra the Dhāma-krama lays down five dhāmas as respective abodes of these Siddhas. They are—Kanda, Nābhi, Hṛt, Kaṇṭha, and Bhrūmadhya. In the same strain Mudrā-Krama speaks of five Mudrās i.e., Physical postures,—Karaṅkiṇī, Krodhanī, Bhairavī, Lelihānā and Khecarī. The concept of 'five letters' technically spoken of as Pañca-piṇḍas under Varṇa-krama too reflects the same tendency. Exactly on these lines the five cycles namely, Prakāśa, Ānanda, Mūrti, Pañcavāha and Vṛnda go to erect the superstructure of Divyaugha.[2]

This pentadic tendency characterizes the efforts to identify even those groups, which admittedly consist of more than five ingredients, with the basic pentad termed Pañcavāha. Thus Śrīpīṭha has nine constituents (Kalā) — (1) primal subjective stir (Adya Spanda) (2) extrovert subjective tendency, (3) the stir of the means of perception, (4) the rise of tendency in the means of knowledge to apprehend determinately, and (5-9) awareness of the objective which is fivefold in accordance with the five elements (Bhūtas). By ignoring the division of the objective into five elements this group of nine is rendered identical with the five Vāhas.[3]

(e) *Dispute about the Exact Number of Parts of the Krama Yoga*

The ideological antagonism has often touched other frontiers of the system as well. If one recapitulates what has been said about the Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga, it will be found that unanimity was wanting with regard to the precise number of the parts of

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1. इत्येनां गुरुमुखसम्प्रदायलब्धां वाचालः शुक इव वृन्दचक्रचर्याम् ।
पञ्चार्थक्रमपदवीरहस्यसंवित्सर्वस्वव्यतिकरगर्भिणीमवोचम् ॥
M.M.P., p. 98.

2. दिव्यौघचक्रपञ्चकस्फारिणि वृन्दचक्रनायिका......।
V.Bh.V., p. 68.

3. नवात्मकत्वेऽप्यस्य प्रमातृप्रमाणोपगृहीतव्योमादिपञ्चकस्वभावत्वात् पञ्चवाहचक्रतादात्म्यं न किञ्चिदप्यतिक्रम्यते ।
M.M.P., p. 88.

the Yoga. Although Jayaratha mentions the theory of sixfold Yoga, he does not appear to take it very seriously. Abhinava himself feels more at home with the eightfold doctrine. A minor unpublished Krama text entitled *Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka* makes no pretentions about its abiding by the eightfold path.[1]

(f) *Several minor controversies referred to*

These pages do not consider it advisable to dilate upon the minor controversies. In spite of their enormous magnitude and wide range, their treatment may be conveniently postponed for future consideration in their respective contexts. Such controversies in the main include e.g., exact number of divinities to be reflected upon in the Anākhyā-cakra; serial order of the five functional cycles for the purpose of adoration; inclusion of Yuganāthas and Rājaputras in the Krama system; precise serial order of the five flows (Pañcavāha); equation of Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti cakras with five flows; the serial order of Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti cakras; concept of Puryaṣṭaka; precise number of aspects of the Vṛnda cakra; Mudrās and Mudrā-krama of Vṛnda-cakra; stages of speech, their nature and number. These problems are culled here with the sole desire to give the reader an idea of the extent these divergences reach out to.

7. *Sources of the Quartic and Pentadic Tendencies*

The only question in this connection, that now remains to be considered, is to locate the probable cause of such a pentadic or quartic tendency. According to Pandey, this pentadic tendency is not the exclusive property of the Krama system alone. It has been anticipated by an earlier system of dualistic-cum-monistic Śaivism which is known as Lakulīśa Pāśupata.[2] In this case the pentadic tendency was aroused by the five Mantras of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, which provided the back-drop for the conception of the five aspects of Śiva to be contemplated at the five stages on the path to final salvation. This trend was

1. अष्टांगयोगानुष्ठानं समयाचारसेवनम् ॥......
उपायव्रात आदिष्टः स्वस्वरूपप्रकाशकः ॥
Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka, vv. 16, 22.(MS)

2. *Cf. Bhāskarī*, III, pp. CXII and CXXXIV.

maintained in the *Gaṇa-kārikā* which summarises the whole system through the medium of eight pentads.[1]

However, the pentadic (or quartic) tendency of the Krama system seems to have been inspired by the quinary functionalism of Absolute. Even these five functions of the absolute owe their genesis to the five modes of Absolutic dynamism known as Kalanā. The very basis of designating the ultimate reality as Kālī is, in fact, supplied by its capacity to effect five types of kalanā, namely, Kṣepa (projection), Jñāna (knowledge), Prasaṅkhyāna (determination), Gati (self-identification) and Nāda (pure awareness).[2]

1. *Cf. Abhinava*, p. 495.
2. क्षेपो ज्ञानं च संख्यानं गतिर्नाद इति क्रमात् ॥...
इति पंचविधामेनां कलनां कुर्वंती परा ।
देवी काली तथा कालकर्षिणी चेति कथ्यते ॥
T.A. 4. 173, 176.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

A reconstructive study of Krama history and an analysis of the entire known as well as extant Krama literature with special reference to its authorship, historicity, availability, classification, subject-matter and chronology.

1. *Kashmir : The Land of Origin of the Krama System*

While switching over to an enquiry into the history and literary wealth of the Krama system we are reminded of a feeling reference made by Bilhaṇa to Kashmir, the land of Śāradā (Śāradā-deśa). He says it is only Kashmir which has the unique privilege of producing saffron filaments together with the poetic ingenuity.[1] And, were one to add that Kashmir is equally the land of philosophical originality as it is a country of saffron flowers, he need not be afraid of being accused of exaggeration. The Krama system, with its long history and voluminous literature, only goes to exemplify the above statement. Jayaratha has not failed to take note of these twin peculiarities[2] of Kashmir, the seat of the goddess of learning,[3] with special

1. सहोदराः कुंकुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ।
Vik. I. 21.

2. श्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
लब्ध्वा यत्रैव सम्यक्पटिमनि घटनामीश्वराद्वैतवादः ।
कश्मीरेभ्यः प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रंजयन् सर्वदेशान्
देशेऽन्यस्मिन्नदृष्टो घुसृणविसरवत्सर्ववन्द्यत्वमाप ॥
T.A.V., XII, p. 429.

3. युक्ता बोधप्रधाना स्थितनिजमहसा शारदा पीठदेवी ।
विद्यापीठे प्रथीयः प्रथितनिखिलवाग्यत्र काश्मीरनाम्नि ॥
Ibid.

reference to Kashmir Śaiva monism. Even the plan and design of the city of Srinagar has been patterned on that of the Śrī Cakra, according to a tradition current even today.[1] In this connection it is of special interest to remember, as has also been pointed out whenever the occasion so warranted, that of all the systems of monistic Śaivism associated with Kashmir the Krama is the lone system that arose from the soil of Kashmir. We have repeated this again in view of its extreme significance. The name "Auttara Krama" is only an acknowledgment of the fact because Śivānanda, who is the first preceptor of the system and hence is called 'the originator'[2] (Avatārakanātha), is said to have received his spiritual lessons in Kashmir, the Uttarapīṭha.[3] Jayaratha appears to have hinted at Śivānanda's possible association with Kāmarūpa,[4] renowned for its great tantric affiliations, when he is presented to have been blessed by Jayā etc. the deities. But this observation, as per its context, is not intended to explain his relation with the Krama system. Jayaratha, who is in fact reproducing the account as given in the *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta, is very categorical about the fact that the Krama secrets were revealed to him in Kashmir.[5] The enormous

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1. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a manuscript of the text named Vidyārṇava by a student of some Pragalbhācārya, which also records this tradition. By implication, 'Srinagar' is an abbreviation of the original 'Śrī-vidyānagara'.

2. श्रीमदवतारकनाथेन......।

   T.A.V., III, p. 195; also see. p. 197.

3. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात्......।

   T.A.V., III, p. 192.

4. अयं च प्रथममेताभिरेव कामरूपे चरुकप्रदानेनानुगृहीतः इति गुरवः ।

   Ibid., p. 201.

   Caruka is not a name of a teacher etc., instead, it means an important item in the Kula-yāga. Vide,

   चरुकः सम्प्रदायश्च विज्ञानं मेलकं तथा ।
   पूजाक्रमविधानं च योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ॥

   Quoted, *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 19 (Ah. 19). Caruka's being a part of a Kula process may well also endorse Kāmarūpa's relation with Kula and not with Krama.

5. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः......।

   T.A.V., III, p. 192.

praise heaped on the Uttara Pīṭha further bears it out.[1] Maheśvarānanda's citing an extract from the *Ṛtuvimarśinī* puts the last word on it.[2] However, the Krama system did not remain restricted to Kashmir alone. It spread even as far as Cola-deśa (modern Karnatak). Krama's association with various Pīṭhas like Oḍḍiyāṇa,[3] Pūrṇa Pīṭha[4] etc., is a sign of its prevalence even beyond the boundaries of Kashmir. The correct geographical identification of these pīṭhas will no doubt add to certitude of our knowledge about Krama.

2. *Origin and Early History*

The exact record of origin and initial phases of the system is clouded in the labyrinth of the mythical, mystical and symbolical accounts. The Krama practice of worshipping the preceptorial line at the end of Vṛnda-cakra[5] has proved to be an asset in view of its supplying the traditional records of the historical data, if any. More so, the general tantric convention which makes it imperative for an author to begin his venture with homage to his teachers[6] also helps one inculcate a rather coherent historical view. At the same time, this practice has also contributed to confusion and complicated the issues since such an account, for want of historical perspective and purport, leaves many gaps unfilled and many more questions unanswered.

(a) *Esoteric symbolism as part of the Krama History : Theory of Three Oghas*

But the tantric, and for the matter of that, the Kramic notion of history is drastically different from one we generally hold, because it makes esoteric symbolism as a part and parcel

1. *M.P.(T)*. 2. 37.
2. ......सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात्......।
M.M.P., p. 193.
3. *Cf. M.P.(S)*, pp. 50, 60; *M.M.P.*, pp. 86, 96, 102.
4. *C.G.C.*, 4. 128.
5. अतो वृन्दक्रमस्यान्ते पूज्यते गुरुसन्ततिः।
M.P.(T). 8.3; also *cf*. *M.M.* 36.
6. इह खलु शास्त्रादौ...इत्याद्युक्तदृशा अवश्यमेव शास्त्रकारैः स्वगुर्वादिः कीर्तनं कार्यम्।
T.A.V., I, p. 23.

of its historical thesis. Krama, treading the current tantric line, arranges the entire course of history in three succeeding phases under the names of Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha standing for the traditions of the divine, the semi-divine or sacred, and the humans respectively.[1] Among these the second occasionally and the third usually are historically relevant. These three may roughly be compared with the three phases namely, Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa of the orthodox account of history. The word Ogha, which forms the substantive part of the words denoting the three phases, means a community of those possessing similar character.[2] By implication, the members displaying a common personality make-up have been classed accordingly under three groups. This is corroborated by another interpretation of the word 'Ogha' in terms of creation.[3] Accordingly, the three, terms e.g., Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha, may be said to represent the orders of creation pertaining to the divine, to the accomplished and to the humans respectively with special respect to the preceptorial line.

(b) *Various traditional accounts of the initial phase of the Krama System*

Besides occasionally conflicting versions among the various traditions, our only regret is that nowhere has a consistent account of three stages been maintained. All the things have got mixed up and whatever comes before us is just a medley.

According to a tradition, ascribed to the *Kramakeli* by Maheśvarānanda[4] who has preserved it for us, the entire *Gītā*

1. क्रमेण तच्च नाथानां पारिपाट्या भुवः स्थलम् ।
दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्यौघप्रविभागादवातरत् ॥
M.M.P., p. 197.

2. ओघे स्वसदृग्गुणे—संकुचिते प्रमातृवर्गे प्रकाशैकपरमार्थे वा विश्वत्र...।
T.A.V., VI, p. 3.

3. अत्र ओघसंघट्टशब्दाभ्यां सृष्टिस्थित्योः...।
B.U.V., p. 8.

4. एतद् वितत्य विख्यातैः क्रमकेलौ कुलागमे ।
नाथाभिनवगुप्तार्यैः पर्यालोचितमादरात् ॥
M.M.P., p. 190.

is an attempt on the part of Kṛṣṇa to expound to Arjuna the philosophy of Krama.[1] Besides, the famous opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*, according to him, records the original history of the Krama system.[2] While initiating Arjuna into the Krama secrets, Kṛṣṇa had to enter the supreme spiritual state of Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī.[3] Arjuna, after knowing the fundamental spiritual truth, renounced the world having enthroned Yudhiṣṭhira as the head of the state.[4] Maheśvarānanda takes a lot of pain to present the arrangement of the subject-matter and plan of the *Gītā* in terms of Krama, all of which is of no particular relevance from our point of view.

Maheśvarānanda records yet another tradition of the Krama and suggests the coverage of all three stages by it. The first ever revelation is said to have proceeded from Bhairava, Parma Śiva, who delivered it to Bhairavī, the Icchā Śakti.[5] With the passage of time it was imparted to Śivānanda and further through a series of teachers it was finally handed down to Maheśvarānanda.[6] It is strange that an author of his eminence

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1. एनमेव महार्थं युद्धारम्भे पाण्डुपुत्रस्य ।
षोडशसहस्रशक्तिर्देव उपदिशति माधव इति शिवम् ॥
M.M. 70.

2. माधवः पाण्डुपुत्रायोपदिशतीति गुरुशिष्यभावोद्भावनेन, 'इमं विवस्वते योगम्...रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम्' इति गुरुपर्वक्रमात्मनः सम्वन्धस्यावश्यानुसंधेयता द्योत्यते ।
M.M.P., p. 187.

3. कालग्रासैकरसिकां कालसंकर्षिणीं कलाम् ।
अनुप्रविश्य योगेन खेचरीखचितौजसा ॥
Ibid., p. 188.

4. अग्रजं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वस्य राज्ये युधिष्ठिरम् ॥
स्वसंरम्भानुगुण्येन स्वैरं व्यवहरन् बहिः ।
Ibid., p. 190.

5. तथा तथा शिवस्तस्याश्चैतन्यमुपबृंहयन् ।
अर्थतत्त्वमुपादिक्षदौत्तराम्नायसंविदाम् ॥
Ibid., p. 196.

6. अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।
शिष्यस्योपादिशद् देवी चिदद्वैतस्य निश्चयम् ॥
क्रमेण तच्च नाथानां परिपाट्या भुवः स्थलम् ।
दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्यौघप्रविभागादवातरत् ॥
अवतीर्णाप्यसौ विद्या महार्थक्रमगर्भिणी ।
M.M.P., p. 197.

and acumen does not attempt to indicate the precise composition of the three phases e.g,, Divyaugha etc. Even on other occasions, particularly while discussing the lineage of his preceptors (gurupaṅkti), he merely reiterates, but does not add to, what he has already said except introducing Maṅgalā Devī in place of Bhairavī or Icchā Śakti.[1] Only at one place does he tell of his immediate preceptorial succession in the order e.g., Śivānanda, Mahāprakāśa and Maheśvarānanda.[2] This Śivānanda is indeed different from one mentioned above as the first human recipient of the Krama dicta. His immediate ancestry appears to have been suggested in the benedictory verses of the *Parimala* commentary.[3] Coming back to the original problem, we may systematize the above account by placing Bhairava, Bhairavī etc. under Divyaugha, and Śivānanda etc. under Mānavaugha. His taciternity leaves us in dark about his view of the Siddhaugha, although he talks of those elements in different contexts that go to constitute the Siddhaugha according to other authors. Thus for instance, Abhinava in his *Tantrāloka* refers to a tradition of the Siddhas (Siddha-santati) beginning with Khagendra and ending with Mīna,[4] which has been adored by Maheśvarānanda in the *Sthiti-Krama*.[5] This view of reckoning the four Yuganāthas comprising the Siddha tradition (Siddhaugha) also seems to have been endorsed by the *Mahānaya-Prakāśa*[6] which, we shall see, is a work of Śivānanda II,

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1. स तु भगवतां श्रीमङ्गलादेवीमारभ्य श्रीमहेश्वरानन्दपर्यन्तं पृथक् प्रथमानानां गुरुनाथानाम्...। *M.M.P.*, p. 98. He further avers—आरभ्य मंगलादीप्तिशिवानन्दादिकं क्रमम् ।
Ibid. p. 99.

2. श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकाशमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतिभिर्योगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादेन उपभुज्यमानत्वात् ।
Ibid., p. 135.

3. *Vide* vv. 4, 6, 7. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. युगक्रमेण कूर्माद्या मीनान्ता सिद्धसंततिः ।
T.A. 4. 267.
Jayaratha comments—आद्यशब्दस्तन्त्रेण व्याख्येयः, तेन कूर्मस्य त्रेतायुगावतारकस्य श्रीकूर्मनाथस्याद्यः कृतयुगावतारकः श्री खगेन्द्रनाथः स आद्यो यस्याः सा ।
T.A.V., III, pp. 296-97.

5. शक्तयश्च ताः शिरश्चक्रे युगनाथाश्चत्वारः......।
M.M.P., p. 102.

6. *Cf. M.P.(T)*. 8. 14-17.

the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda. But the Siddhaugha of this type is not approved by the other stalwarts of the system notably Abhinava and Śitikaṇṭha. Abhinava does not regard the Siddha-santati as essentially a Krama phenomenon, because prescribing or denying such a tradition is not in conformity with the Krama tendency of absolute monism.[1] He, however, makes it absolutely clear elsewhere that the Siddha-tradition at issue is exclusively a Kula phenomenon.[2] Śitikaṇṭha, too, is vocal about it and vehemently opposes it. He positively holds that such a tradition (āyātikrama) is an imposition of an exotic doctrine on the Krama.[3] He rejects even the slightest occasion for such a thesis in the system and holds that the four Siddha-groups represented by Jñāna, Mantra, Melāpa and Śākta under the Vṛnda-cakra would, of necessity, supply the basic content and material of the Sthitikrama.[4] Since these are esoteric notions and symbolize the mystic concepts, the Siddhaugha loses most of its historical value.

But Śitikaṇṭha agrees with Maheśvarānanda who also traces the system to Maṅgalā Devī as its first teacher.[5] But Makāra Devī is no less than the self-adumbration of the Primordial Divinity[6] which, in its own right, presides over and

1. एवं क्षेत्रप्रवेशादिसंताननियमान्ततः ।
नास्मिन्विधीयते तद्धि साक्षान्नौपयिकं शिवे ।
न तस्य च निषेधो यत्र तत् तत्त्वस्य खण्डनम् ॥

T.A. 4. 270-71.

2. सिद्धक्रमेति सिद्धानां कृतयुगादिक्रमेण श्रीखगेन्द्रनाथादीनां क्रमे तत्परम्परागतायां कुलप्रक्रियायामित्यर्थः ।

T.A.V., XI, pp. 2-3 (Jayaratha on *T.A.* 29.3.)

3. अन्यत्र दर्शनान्तरे कुलाकुलक्रमेण एतत्खगेन्द्रादिनाम्नैव व्यवह्रियमाणाश्चत्वारः खगेन्द्राद्याः ...इह पूज्यतया आरोप्यन्ते, इति पापात्पापेयं वाचोयुक्तिः ।

M.P. (*S*), pp. 115-16.

4. तत्र कोऽवकाशः कनिष्ठस्य गुरुक्रमस्य पूज्यतायाम्, इति चतुर्भिरेव ज्ञानसिद्धैः स्थितिक्रमः पार्यते ।

Ibid., p. 116.

5. श्रीमकारदेवी आदिगुरुरूपा जीयात् ।

M.P. (*S*), p. 5.

6. तथापि सुप्रबुद्धश्रीमंगलारूपेण आदिदेवतैव विवृता ।

Ibid.

constitutes the Divyaugha.[1] Divyaugha, which also goes by the name of Mahaugha[2] is a sheer mythical concept. The professed identity between the triad of cycles comprising Ānanda, Mūrti and Prakāśa and Divyaugha is a pointer in this direction.[3] In fact, Śitikaṇṭha talks of five Oghas (traditions)[4] namely, Paraugha, Divyaugha, Mahaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha, but the first three can be conveniently subsumed under Divyaugha. Hence the primary classification of the three Oghas is not disturbed. Adverting to Siddhaugha we find that it begins with Makāradevī.[5] The rest has already been seen in the preceding paragraph. The only thing of dubious historical significance is a reference to some Jñānanetranātha who is said to have directly inherited the spiritual fortune from Maṅgalā or Makāra-devī.[6] A reference has also been made to some Śrīnātha.[7] The similarity of context tends heavily in favour of identifying the two, though it is also a case of doubtful equation. However, this equation cannot be dismissed as wholly unfounded because Śivānanda, the author of the other *Mahānaya-Prakāśa*, too, makes an explicit reference to one Antarnetranātha who seems to have unravelled the mystery of the highest Pīṭha.[8]

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1. परमात्मस्वरूपादिदेव्यधिष्ठितपरावागात्मस्वरूपदिव्यौघात् ।
   Ibid., p. 3.
2. आदौ भगवतीं प्राधान्यात् प्रणम्य ततश्चक्रपंचकनिविष्टा देवता: पूज्यन्ते, इत्ययं महौघ:, तदनु सिद्धौघे...।
   Ibid., p. 85.
3. ...एतद्दिव्यौघरूपम् चक्रत्रयम् ।
   Ibid., p. 80.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
5. मकारदेवी...सा हि महौघमतिक्रम्य भिन्ना सिद्धौघे पूज्यते ।
   Ibid., p. 104; also cf. p. 107.
6. श्रीमन्मकारदेव्या: पीठवरे प्राप्तादेशेन श्रीज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन...यत्साक्षात्कृतं तदेव भूतदयाविष्टेन सता क्रमार्थतया कथनपूजनाभ्यां वान्तम् तदेव प्रस्तूयते ।
   M.P. (*S*), p. 49.
7. आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु देवगुरुभागव्यवस्थामेकस्य अखण्डचित्स्वरूपस्य यदादिदेश...।
   Ibid., p. 73.
8. अत्रान्तर्नेत्रनाथस्य प्रकटानुभवोऽभवत् ।
   ततो ध्यानं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं बहि: ।
   योगिनीसिद्धसंसेव्यमुत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ॥
   M.P.(*T*), 2. 36-37.

For, there is no basic difference in the meaning of the Jñānanetra or Antarnetra and twisting of names without interfering with their meaning is not uncommon among Sanskrit authors, their identity cannot be brushed aside without proper scrutiny. It appears that, in spite of their probable historicity, these Nāthas (or Nātha, to be more exact) were assigned to Siddhaugha which is succeeded by Mānavaugha in chronological order. The Mānavaugha or human phase is traced to some Hrasvanātha and is terminated with Cakrabhānu.[1] The Mānavaugha has a further sub-division i.e., Śiṣyaugha[2] (lineage of the disciples), which starts with Cakrabhānu and closes with Śitikaṇṭha.[3] Now this Mānavaugha or human phase has immediate bearings on the historical character of the Krama system. The exact significance will be examined at the proper occasion in the sequal but it may not escape our notice that Śitikaṇṭha's presentation, though by far the most comprehensive, is by all means incomplete and sketchy.

(c) *Consistent account of the early history of the system*

One must feel grateful to Jayaratha who, though citing from the *Kramakeli*, has preserved to us the account of early history of the system.[4] It goes to his credit that his is the first rational and consistent effort to supply the links left missing in the cryptic statements of the authors including Maheśvarānanda. The *Kramakeli* acknowledges the earliest preceptorial status of Śivānanda having received his lessons in the Uttarapītha. The close affinity between the *Kramakeli's* and the *Mahānaya-Prakāśa's* accounts forces us not to unduly distinguish Śivānanda from Śrīnātha, although it has nowhere been so explicitly asserted. Śivānanda handed over the spiritual wealth to three of his female disciples namely, Keyūravatī, Madanikā

1. *M.P.*(*S*), p. 107.
2. मानवौघशिष्यौघयोरैक्येन गुरुक्रमाः ।
Ibid., p. 140.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
4. *Vide*. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 192-93.

and Kalyāṇikā. Next in the line are Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka to whom were revealed the Krama secrets by these female ascetics simultaneously. The first two e.g., Govindarāja and Bhānuka, marked the beginning of the two different traditions of the Krama scholars. Somānanda was connected with Govindarāja who trasmitted the creed of Krama to the former, and Bhānuka headed the other tradition to which later belonged Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa. The latter tradition came down intact to Jayaratha. The third, Eraka, did not bother about forming a school of his own, instead he thought it better to propour d the system all alone.

Thus, it may be noted that Śivānanda's position as the first preceptor of the system is in no way compromised. But a quotation from the *Devī-pancaśatika*, again our thanks go to Jayaratha, alludes to three precursors of Śivānanda along with their spouses as under :[1]

Niṣkriyānanda	—	Jñānadīpti,
Vidyānanda	—	Raktā,
Śaktyānanda	—	Mahānandā, and
Śivānanda	—	Samayā.[2]

1. ननु श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकादौ "निष्क्रियानन्दनाथश्च ज्ञानदीप्त्या सहैकत: ।
विद्यानन्दश्च रक्ता च द्वितीयं कथितं तव ॥
शक्त्यानन्दो महानन्दा तृतीयं सिद्धपूजितम् ।
शिवानन्दस्तथा ज्ञेया समया तच्चतुर्थकम् ॥"
इत्याद्युक्त्या अन्येऽपि सपत्नीका गुरव उक्तास्तद्वदिहापि कथं नोच्यन्ते इत्याशंक्य आह —
T.A., XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).

2. Jayaratha suggests that this Krama tradition has a stamp of conclusiveness about it. He, in his prefatory remark on *T.A.* 29.43, raises a question as to why other teachers such as those mentioned in the *Devīpañcaśatikā* are not referred to here in the 'present' (इह) context (because these teachers are different from those that are being alluded to presently). Here the present context means the Kula system. Jayaratha's explanation hints at the impossibility of explicitly mentioning the teachers that have nothing to do with Kula. These teachers enjoy a detailed treatment in the Kālī-kula, but they need not be worshipped instead, remembered only in the Kula context for the simple reason that these do not come under the purview of the Kula system. The word तद्वत् (see the preceding note) is very pregnant and

In the interest of logicality, if one could establish the identity of the present Śivānanda with one recognised as the inventor of the system, one will have adequate ground to believe that Krama had earlier beginnings. Two strcng considerations lend their weight to the surmise that these two are one. First, the *Devīpañcaśatika* is a recognised textual authority on Krama as the following pages would reveal. And secondly, Ananta-śaktipāda, a commentator on a later Krama text '*Vātūlanātha Sūtra*",[1] and Śivopādhyāya, the learned author of the *Uddyota* commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*,[2] record the opinion of some Niṣkriyānandanātha who is nowhere taken note of in the Kashmir Śaiva texts even once except in the *Devīpañcaśatika*. If this contention be true, Niṣkriyānandanātha should be recognized as the first thinker of the Krama system. If he is not so recognized in place of Śivānanda, it is perhaps because he did not build up a system. The process of even greater antiquity of the system does not end here. Niṣkriyānandanātha is preceded by some Gandhamādana Siddha who took the former in his personal favour.[3] Gandhamādana probably had a book[4] which he showed to Niṣkriyānanda and divulged its contents to him.

Thus, historically Krama seeds were sown much earlier than one is apt to believe. One may also ascertain the approximate historical status of these early thinkers. From the account furnished by Jayaratha, Śivānanda was removed by two intervening generations (i.e., Keyūravatī and Govindarāja) from Somānanda, whose chronological position is almost certain. He is assigned towards the close of the ninth century. By assigning

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purposive. It meant that the *Devīpañcaśatikā* speaks of teachers other than those described above in the Kula context. Now *Devīpañcaśatikā* is a Krama text, hence the 'other' system than 'the present one' is bound to be the Krama. Hence Niṣkriyānanda etc., are automatically related to the Krama system. Vide, *T.A.V.* XI, pp. 31-33 (Ah. 29).

1. *Vide V.N.S.V.*, p. 4.
2. *V.Bh.V.*, pp., 67-68.
3. *V.N.S.V.*, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*

twenty-five years to each generation according to the usual practice of the historians, Śivānanda may be placed in the first quarter of the ninth century. Gandhamādana, who is by four generations older to Śivānanda, has to be assigned towards the beginning of the eighth or the last quarter of the seventh century. Ostensibly enough, the Krama system dates back fairly early. In a sense it is the earliest system amongst the monistic Śaiva systems of Kashmir, because all other systems arose or emerged somewhere around the beginning of the ninth century.

Such a hoary antiquity of the system is further established by collateral evidence. The *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara who is attributed to middle of ninth century by the scholars because he flourished during the reign of Avantivarman,[1] eulogizes the ultimate deity as Saṁkarṣiṇī[2] in course of offering prayers to Śakti. A student of the Krama philosophy is fully well aware of the implications of this term. It is a typical Krama method of naming the Absolute. The word Saṁkarṣiṇi and Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī have no semantic difference. They stand for the one and the same principle.[3] This reference helps one recognize the basic issue that the Krama dicta began to gain currency fairly early. It is these scattered ideas whose crystallization into a systematic form begins by the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

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1. मुक्ताकण: शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धन: ।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मण: ॥
R.T. 5.34 (V.V.R.I. edition)

2. प्राप्ताभिसंधिपरतामनुवृत्तिलग्नगौणस्थिति: स्थितसितातिशयादभीक्षणम् ।
विद्येति सर्वबहुलाखिलदृष्टिसंज्ञा संकर्षिणि निगदिता किल शासने त्वम् ॥
H V., 47.55.

3. संकर्षिणी सप्तदशाक्षरा ।
यदुक्तं श्रीदेव्या यामले—
त्रिदशैरपि सम्पूज्या विद्या सप्तदशाक्षरा ॥
कालसंकर्षिणी नाम्ना...।
T.A.V., XI, p. 49 (Ah. 29).

3. *Creative period of the Krama system — Rise and Decay (9-18th century)*

It may now be in the fitness of things to advert to the study of the creative phase of the Krama history which one encounters in the immediate succession. It is here that one finds himself face to face with remarkable scholars and outstanding personalities like Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Hrasvanātha, Siddhanātha, Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Utpala Vaiṣṇava and Bhāskara etc. This community of scholars is further joined by even the persons of the eminence of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Ramyadeva etc. Really speaking, once the creative stream starts flowing, its current does not lose its rigour till it comes to Devabhaṭṭa. But the force of the central current is again restored after a brief pause in the personalities of Śivānanda II, Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. With Maheśvarānanda one enters into the thirteenth century. These names form the galaxy of important Krama authors in addition to numberless those who have made humbler contributions. To this period belongs the illustrious tradition of Cakrabhānu, Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja, Somarāja and Śrīvatsa who have made a hall-mark in the history of the Krama system by departing from the old rut and by making fresh contributions. It is the tradition which has escaped the certitude of historical accuracy for want of requisite material.

From the historical point of view, the Krama history unrolls a vast panorama that stretches from the 9th to the 18th century. There comes a lull after the 13th century and a vacuum obscures the creative arena, if any, from our sight. To be frank, a period of decadence looms large with the exit of Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. And the vacuum is only partly and sporadically filled. Only two names, e.g., Śitikaṇṭha (1575-1625 A.D.) and Śivopādhyāya (1725-1775 A.D.) arrest our attention for their brilliant attempt to revive and preserve the system. To this period may be assigned Anantaśaktipāda, the commentator upon the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi*, and the author of the *Chummā-Sampradāya* whose exact chronological status is not yet beyond doubt.

The period ranging from the 9th to 12th century is most creative. The creative vitality is reflected not only by the number of authors and texts, but also the impact it made on the other systems. This period witnesses a big community of authors who not only share their greatness, but also enjoy blood-affiliations; and consequently, we are in the midst of not only the rich preceptorial traditions but also family traditions. In the subsequent study we shall have sufficient opportunity to expatiate upon this contention. This period evinces a positive philosophical aptitude to be replaced by deep esoteric tendencies towards decaying finale of the system. A transitional compromise is easily perceptible among the authors flourishing towards the conclusion of the primary creative phases e.g., Maheśvarānanda etc.

The system did not degenerate overnight. The long process had started fairly early. By the close of the 12-13th century, the cracks start showing in the erstwhile cemented wall of the system. One can easily feel the pressure of surging winds in Jayaratha. His diatribe at his opponents is indicative of the fact that they had lost touch with the traditional secret of the system.[1] But Jayaratha's criticism is so lively and retains its contemporary flavour to such an extent that by his time Krama continued to be a living force. Even a superficial perusal would convince one of this. Similarly Śivānanda II, the author of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, has castigated such people hinting at the growing ignorance of the system among the votaries of the system themselves.[2] The tendency gradually turned into a fact. Coming to Śitikaṇṭha, one finds Krama fast disappearing from the popular scene. He, at one place, bemoans the forgetful

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1. अतच्चास्य एवं गुरुक्रममजानानैरद्यतनैः...इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव इत्युपेक्ष्यम् ।
T.A.V., III, p. 123;
also see तस्माददृष्टगुरुभिरपरिशीलितशास्त्रसंप्रदायैः स्वविमर्शशून्यैः देवानांप्रियैः यत् किंचिदत्रोच्यते तदुपेक्ष्यमेव ।
Ibid., p. 200.

2. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्यामात्रप्रपूरणात् ।...
स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युच्चैः तेऽपि न ज्ञानशालिनः ॥
M.P.(*T*). 8.186-87; also see. 8.180.

public memory.[1] The *Jñānakriyādvaya-śataka*, a stotra of Krama leanings and much later origin, gives a very vivid and graphic description of degeneration of the noble tenets of the system at the hands of its followers. It is a lengthy caricature (verses **37-63**) and indicates how they lost any sense of the ethical proportions, social decorum and spiritual values in pursuing their carnal, sensual and mercenary motives.[2]

4. *Historical backdrop of these Phases*

If one reviews the Krama history against the general backdrop of the history of Kashmir, it would be clear to him that the period covering the creative phase of the Krama system is in fact reflective of the renaissance that overtook and enervated every field of intellectual activity. This period has given us many classics in different branches of learning e.g., philosophy, poetics, religion and literature. The process of patronizing the intellectuals and creative geniuses that started with King Lalitāditya (7th century) went unabated till the time of Jayasiṁha (1127-1149 A.D.) with a few exceptions. There was a great impetus for the composition of new and original works in Kashmir. Works on poetics practically commenced from the 8th century A.D. with Udbhaṭa and Vāmana. Works on the Trika system of philosophy began to be written about the same time and historical works also fall in the same period. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Firstly the literary glory and creative upsurge of Kashmir was at its peak during this period and was largely responsible for creating an intellectually fertile atmosphere in which nothing mean could ever aspire for recognition. Sociologically knowledge-seeking and intellectual activity were the values supremely cherished by the society and individuals alike. According to the social psychology deep-rooted

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1. विस्मृतं चैतत्सर्वेषाम्...
स च सर्वेषां भावावेशेन स्मृतिपथादपसृतो नष्टः स्थितः, ते तु महाजनाः — येषामित्थं गुरुमुखमाविर्भूतम् ।
M.P.(S), p. 135.

2. The stotra is still unpublished. See "classified bibliography" for particulars.

values in the subconscious-mind of society act as a formative principle and impart a direction, depth and meaning to the cultural and creative adventures of the age. Knowledge-seeking became the cult of the then India, not to talk of Kashmir alone. Secondly, foreign emissaries like Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing visited India so that there was ample opportunity for exchange of ideas between the great nations like China, Persia, Greece and India. Thirdly, Kashmir Śaivism emerged as a critique of the Vaibhāṣika and Yogācāra schools of Buddhism and a constructive continuator of Bhartṛhari's philosophy of language which had attained a high degree of intellectual advancement. Fourthly, the kings like Jayāpīḍa (779-813 A.D.) and Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) were enlightened and generous and they kept the flame of learning ever kindled during their reign. A king's popularity and success were measured in terms of his respect for learning. Kalhaṇa has stated that during his time king Jayāpīḍa, like his remote precursor Lalitāditya, invited scholars from all parts of India in large numbers. Of Avantivarman Kalhaṇa says that during his reign Siddhas such as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa were born for the benefit of the world.[1] King Yaśaskara, who has won the laurels from Kalhaṇa for his flawless administration in maintaining the integrity of the housewives,[2] was also a patron of many a scholar. He was a senior contemporary of Abhinava (950-1020 A.D.). Vallabha, the grandfather of Karṇa who was Abhinava's favourite student, and Pūrṇa Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, were ministers of Yaśaskara. Similarly in Sussala (1101-1197 A.D.) we meet a great patron of learning. Maṅkha has paid high tributes to him.[3] Practically all the brothers of Maṅkha including himself

1. अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टश्रीकल्लटादयः ।
अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन् ॥
R.T., V. 66.

2. नादृश्यन्त च गेहिन्यो गुरुदीक्षोत्थदेवताः ।
कुर्वाणा भर्तृशीलश्रीनिषेधं मूर्धधूननैः ॥
R.T., VI. 12.

3. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिविग्रहे ।
विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥
S.K.C., 3.62

were under the employment of Sussala. Maṅkha's elder brother Alaṁkāra,[1] who himself was a great patron of learning, was a high state official under Sussala. Ramyadeva and Loṣṭhala — both Krama authors, Ruyyaka — the famous poetician, and a host of others were regular members of Alaṁkāra's literary club. Jaya Siṁha (1127-1155 A.D.), whose court poet was Kalhaṇa, stepped into the shoes of his father and closely followed his foot-prints. Maṅkha has very high opinion about him [2] Jayaratha, ostensibly one of the most remarkable figures of the system, was a son of Śṛṅgāraratha, the court-minister of Jayasiṁha who has been probably referred to as Rājarāja [3] Encouragement from the rulers and a creatively lively academic environment made Kashmir a virtual seat of learning which bewitched scholars from every corner of the country.[4] And consequently and rightly, too, an adage earned currency among the scholars that the real test of the scholarship lay in Kashmir.

Particular mention may be made, in this connection, of the encouragement that was given to Sanskrit learning during the later part of this period (which has been called as the period of decadence) even by Muslim rulers such as King Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1459 A.D.), Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484 A.D.) and Emperor Akbar. Zain-ul-Abidin made a history by proclaiming a total ban on cow-slaughter by reducing ziziah to a

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1. Kalhaṇa refers to Alaṁkāra in glowing terms :
अलंकाराभिधो बाह्यराज्यस्थानाधिकारभाक् ।
अधृष्यो मानुषैर्युद्धेविरुद्धान् बहुधावधीत् ॥
R.T., VIII, 2658.

2. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।
व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु ॥
S.K.C., 3.66; also see. 25.61.

3. राजराज इति भूभुजामभूदग्रणीर्गुणिगणाश्रयः परम् ।
तां सतीसरसि राजहंसतामातनोत्किल घनागमेऽपि यः ॥
Alaṁkāra-Sarvasva-Vimarśinī; p. 257.

4. यद्वादिनामुत्तरदिङ्निवेशादिव श्रयन्ति प्रतिवादिवाचः ।
अनुत्तरत्वं तदनुत्तरर्द्धि श्रीशारदामण्डलमस्ति यत्र ॥
T.A.V., XII, p. 429.

nought. Hasan Shah was the patron of Śitikaṇṭha — author of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, and Śrīvara Paṇḍita — author of the later edition of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. All the three rulers ordered the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic and vice versa, so that the exchange of ideas was mutual and not unilateral. But there was a great difference between the initial and final periods of the creative phase. These Muslim rulers of the final period, however, were not the rule but exceptions who gave a fillip and stimulus to Sanskrit learning in brilliant contrast to the wicked performance of the Muslim rulers in general who took it as a religious duty to destroy the culture of Kashmir; whereas in the initial period such rulers were exception as were not generous, nor enlightened. This difference among the rulers speaks by itself of the difference between the two periods.

The dazzling flame of classical Sanskrit tradition ultimately began to flicker and extinguish after the death of king Zain-ul-Abidin. The Hindu society in Kashmir began to disintegrate marking the decline of Sanskrit study. Persian language began to spread its influence. The place of Sanskrit was usurped by Kashmiri which was born afresh by a mixture of Persian and Sanskrit. Its magnificent examples are found in the pithy sayings of Lallā, *Mahānaya-prakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha and *Chummā-Sampradāya*. It is a pity that the land which was a living shrine of the goddess of learning succumbed to foreign influences and was forced to pass through a process of complete degeneration and total eclipse of its cultural identity. The process has been so thorough and its after-effects so severe that the Kashmiris today have yet to realize their real cultural identity. However the rich heritage that has flowed through blood among the Kashmirians down to the present day is visible in the commentaries of Śivopādhyāya on the *Vijñānabhairava*, of Ratnakaṇṭha on the *Stuti-Kusumāñjali*, and of Bhāskarakaṇṭha on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī* and in the *Devīnāmavilāsa* of Sāhib Kaul. The first and third works speak of the original calibre of their authors. Śivopādhyāya, who is credited with the authorship of certain other works as well, flourished under the patronage of Sukhajīvana (1754-1762 A.D.), a Hindu king. The fourth work

also belongs to the close of eighteenth century. With his exit the curtain is finally dropped and all intellectual activity comes to a close only to be revived in the present century.

5. *Chronological Position and Contribution of the Individual Authors*

As is logical, one may now proceed to determine the chronological status as well as examine the contribution of the Krama authors individually. Such an attempt will possibly facilitate better understanding of the system. The place of an author in the proposed treatment corresponds to his exact or approximate position in chronology. Cases of doubtful or unknown authorship have been treated along the same lines except agamic works to which a separate section has been devoted.

(i) *Vātūlanātha* (675-725 A.D.)

Little is known about him. It is also difficult to say whether he belonged to the Siddha tradition (Siddhaugha) or the Human one (Mānavaugha) although he is referred to as a 'Siddha'. If he is a historical personality he should be placed before Niṣkriyānandanātha whose period falls about 700-750 A.D., because the tradition (not the authorship) as presented in the *Vātūlanātha-Sūtrāṇi* is traced to some Vātūlanātha.[1] The main thesis, according to him, is to negate duality and uphold unity of the various categories of spiritual experience i.e., the adorer, the adored and the adoration. He is the first exponent of the Sāhasa school.

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1. श्रीमद्वातूलनाथस्य हृदयाम्भोधिसंभवम् ।
पूज्यपूजकपूजाभिः प्रोज्झितं यन्नमामि तत् ॥

Verse 3, *V.N.S.V.*, p. 1.

also

इह पुनः पूज्यपूजकपूजनसंबंधपरिहारेण श्रीमद्वातूलनाथादिसिद्धप्रवरवक्त्राम्नाय-दृशा...।

Ibid., p. 18.

(ii) *Gandhamādana* (700-750 A.D.)

He is known from a brief reference[1] where he is represented to have shown an unauthored (probably of divine origin or received traditionally) book to Niṣkriyānanda while taking the latter into his personal favour. He is also said to be a Siddha i.e., the accomplished one. The text *Vātūla-nātha-sūtra* is supposed to be a detailed exposition of these teachings. Coming before Niṣkriyānanda he may be placed in the vicinity of the first two quarters of the eighth century. He also subscribed to the Sāhasa branch of the Krama system.

(iii) *Niṣkriyānandanātha* (725-775 A.D.)

During the hoary antiquity of the system Niṣkriyānanda appears to be the most important author. He is the first among the four preceptorial dignities mentioned by the *Pañcaśatika.*[2] He is mentioned alongwith his consort i.e., *Jñānadīpti*. His importance becomes self-manifest the moment one finds at least two works ascribed to him. As has already been noted in our study of the Sāhasa school, these works are the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya*[3] and the *Vātūlanātha-Sūtrāṇi*. It is to be noted that one does not meet such explicit declaration of his authorship of these two works. To be more precise and exact, he may be said to be the author of the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya*, whereas he transpires to be a recipient of the Sāhasa doctrine from some Gandhamādana resulting in the form of the *Vātūlanātha-Sūtrāṇi*.

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1. श्रीमन्निष्क्रियानन्दनाथानुग्रहसमये श्रीगन्धमादनसिद्धपादैरकृतकपुस्तकप्रदर्शनेन या परपदे प्राप्तिरुपदिष्टा सैव वितत्य निरूप्यते ।

Ibid., p. 4.

The editor, Pt. Madhusudan *Kaul*, translates the word अकृतकपुस्तक "by the self-composed book". *Cf.* p. 5 of the translation. However, this rendering appears to be incorrect.

2. *T. A.* XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).

3. The work is available in Manuscript form only and happens to be in the list of the projected publications of the Research Department, Kashmir. The book is divided in about 74 sub-sections known as Kathās. Under each Kathā a few verses occur in which Sanskrit verses precede those in the local vernacular. It has in all thirteen folios and bears the MS. No. 151. We have made copious use of the manuscript throughout the present study.

His authorship of the first work is established by an irrevokable fact. According to Śivopādhyāya, he reads 'Karāṅkiṇī' for "Karaṅkiṇī" in the context of Mudrākrama under Vṛndacakra. In support Śivopādhyāya cites two verses from him.[1] Fortunately these verses are traceable verbatim to the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya*[2] which is still unpublished. He also seems to have written a commentary called "Prakāśa" on it which is also in manuscript form.[3]

In this connection it is perhaps significant to remember that all these works as they are available today convey an impression of their being of much later date. This conclusion is derived from three facts viz., (i) these works are nowhere referred to in the earlier literature. Even Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha do not take any notice of them, (ii) the prevalence of Prākṛta in the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya* and esoteric symbolism in the *Vātūlanātha-Sūtrāṇi* are definitely later characteristics of the system ; and (iii) the only other reference one gets after the *Pañcaśatika* is by Śivopādhyāya (18th century). The only explanation that seems plausible at this stage is that antiquity of

1. निष्क्रियानन्दनाथस्तु करांकिण्या इति पठति—यथा—
करास्त्रयोदशाकाराः सर्वाक्षक्षोभवृत्तयः ।
अंकं तु निर्निकेतायाः संविदो देहविस्तरः ।।
एतत्करांकमाख्यातं तस्य ग्रासादनावृतम् ।
निष्करंकं समुद्दिष्टं निरालम्बं परं वरम् ।।
V.Bh.V., p. 67.

2. *Vide C.S.* (MS), folio 8.

3. The manuscript belongs to Pt Dīnānātha Yakṣa, the then head pandit of the Sanskrit Section of the Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar. I was not permitted to have a look into the work. But he very kindly supplied to me a transcribed copy of the colophon with which the commentary ends. It is written in Śāradā characters. Sūtras in Prākṛta have been commented upon by Niṣkriyānanda in Sanskrit verses. The colophon reads :
कालाकालकलाकलापविभवं संभक्ष्य चिद्वृत्तितो
भित्त्वा ज्ञानमहान्धकारमभितः सम्यग्दयातत्त्वतः ।
उद्घाट्यांशुनिरुच्चरोत्तरदृशा च्छुम्माख्यसंकेतके
भेदाभेदविवर्जिते निरुपमे प्रोच्चैः प्रकाशः कृतः ।।
इतिच्छुम्मासंकेतप्रकाशः श्रीनिष्क्रियानन्दप्रकाशितः सम्पूर्णः ।

Niṣkriyānanda is no doubt very early and his teachings did come down to posterity unbroken, but they were consolidated and circumscribed into the form of the books at much later date. Or else there may be two separate authors of the same name. But in the absence of any contrary evidence, the first view seems to be more tenable. Whatever the case, he is inalienably connected with the Sāhasa sub-school of the Krama system. According to Śivopādhyāya's account he held Vāmeśvarī to be the primal and absolute principle. He believed in the sixty-four aspects of the Vṛnda-cakra, the sixty-fifth aspect being constituted by Reality itself which also passes under the name of Raudreśvarī.[1] This account tallies with what has been preserved to us in the two extant texts.

(iv) *Vidyānandanātha* (750-800 A.D.)

Besides the *Pañcaśatika's* mention of his, as reported by Jayaratha,[2] complete darkness surrounds his identity. He is second in lineage from Niṣkriyānanda and Raktā happened to be his spouse. This is all that is known about him.

It is, indeed, almost certain that he is different from the two Vidyānandas belonging to the Tripurā sect. One is the author of the famous work called *Artharatnāvalī* and the other is the author of the *Śivārcana-candrikā* and *Saubhāgya-ratnākara* etc. Both of them belong to much later date[3] (the 12th and 16th centuries respectively), hence their identification with the present author is totally out of question.

(v) *Śaktyānandanātha* (775-825 A.D.)

Once again we seek recourse to the *Pañcaśatika* which puts him in the third place from Niṣkriyānanda and as an

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1. *V.Bh.*, pp. 67-68.
2. *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).
3. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः तत्कृतयश्च, B.B. Dviveda, *S.S.*, p. 25. The author has given convincing reasons to prove the lateness of the authors in question. Vidyānanda of the Krama system cannot be dragged to a later period for that would create historical absurdities. The *Pañcaśatika* was known to Somānanda (*T.A.V.*, III, p. 194) who flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century. And it is this *Pañcaśatika* that is one's sole access to Vidyānanda.

immediate predecessor of Śivānanda. His spouse was Mahānandā by name. We know nothing more about him.

(vi) *Sivānanda* (800-850 A.D.)

Śivānanda is the first literary figure about whom the history is less silent. Generally he is acclaimed as the first systematic exponent of the school[1] and for that reason is known as "Avatārakanātha"[2] in the doctrinal circles. He, as has already been pointed out, belongs to the opening era of the ninth century. This date is arrived at from basing our calculations on the dates of Somānanda (875-925 A.D.) and Abhinavagupta (950-1000 A.D.). He is removed by two generations from the former and by five from the latter. He hailed from Kashmir, the Uttarapīṭha, which was also the seat of his spiritual initiation.[3] He also visited Kāmarūpa where he was taken into personal favour of the deities of the Jayā class.[4] The circumstances pertaining to his visit perhaps have a bearing on his relation, if any, with the Kula system. He had three female ascetics as his immediate pupils who bore the burden of propounding the Krama dicta. They were known as Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā respectively.[5] In Jayaratha's time there raged a controversy with regard to the total number of Śivānanda's actual disciples. Jayaratha quotes a verse giving out the number of his students as seventeen and refutes the same because the verse, in his opinion, does not take into consideration the two other pupils and also because there is always

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1. यः शिवात्प्रभृतिसोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।
   C.G.C., 4.121.

   अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।
   शिष्यस्योपादिशद् देवी चिदद्वैतस्य निश्चयम् ॥
   M.M.P., p. 197. Also see *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.

2. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 195, 197.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
5. श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाल्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः .. श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः प्राप्नुवन्तः।
   T.A.V., III, p. 192. *Vide* p. 195.

a possibility of his having still another student.[1] By implication there was a wide range of scholars and devotees to whom he seems to have addressed his teachings.

It is doubtful if he wrote some specific work for the propagation of Krama. It is unfortunate that his views on various philosophical questions have not come down to us except on one question i.e., the number of Kālīs to be worshipped in Anākhyā-cakra. It appears there were two interpretations in tune with the doctrinal demands of his views. The tradition is interpreted by one group to mean that he advocated the number of Kālīs to be thirteen and two verses are cited from him in support of their thesis.[2] The other group headed by Jayaratha, instead, holds the number to be twelve which, he declares, has descended to him direct from Govindarāja and cites a verse to substantiate his contention.[3] Jayaratha presents it as an uncontrovertible fact that the twelve goddesses alone were intended by the teacher-sage.[4] Today it is difficult to objectively

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1. तदेष,
क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।
सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे सवंशनिर्वंशान् ।। इति नियमो न न्याय्यः— शिष्यद्वयस्याप्यपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।
Ibid., p. 195.

2. ननु एवं गुरुक्रमेऽप्यस्य कथंकारमिदं संगच्छताम्, यदत्र द्वादशैव एता देव्य इति, यतः श्रीमदवतारकनाथस्यापि अत्र त्रयोदशैव विवक्षिताः यः श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामपि परमगुरुत्वेन स्थितः, यदाह
एकं स्वरूपरूपं प्रसरस्थितिविलयभेदतस्त्रिविधम् ।
प्रत्येकमुदयसंस्थितिलयविश्रमश्चतुर्विधं तदपि ।।
इतिवसुपंचकसंख्यं विधाय सहजस्वरूपमात्मीयम् ।
विश्वविवर्तावर्तप्रवर्तकं जयति ते रूपम् ।।
T.A.V., III, p. 197.

3. किंतु अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्मः, यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः, यदाह
कालस्य कालि देहं विभज्य मुनिपंचसंख्यया भिन्नम् ।
स्वस्मिन् विराजमानं तद्रूपं कुर्वती जयसि ।।
Ibid., p. 198.

4. तस्मात् द्वादशधात्वमेवात्र वक्तुमभिप्रेतं सिद्धपादानाम् ।
Ibid, p. 199.

determine his precise views with regard to this or that issue. This is, however, clear that the twelvefoldness of Kālīs was derived by him from the purely functional interpretation of the Absolutic agency. Each of the four functions namely, Emanation, Sustenance, Withdrawal and Rest, happens to enjoy three distinct phases of rise, maintenance and dissolution respectively. It may also be taken to be implied that he subscribed to the thesis of four-function doctrine (Krama- catuṣṭaya).

A student of the Krama history is familiar with one more Śivānanda (generally referred to by us as Śivānanda II), the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, who belongs to a period as late as the twelfth century. In the tantric history, in general, there are quite a few Śivānandas and any irresponsible identification must be avoided without proper and strong basis. Yet one Śivānanda quoted in the *Siddha-Siddhānta-paddhati*,[1] because of his antiquity and historical approximity, may be identical with our author. The tone of the citation also lends weight to the above hypothetical value at present. If such a contention has any force, it is probable that Śivānanda wrote some work or works too.

Earlier, in this very chapter, the identity of Śivānanda with Śrīnātha, Antarnetranātha and Jñānanetranātha has been suggested. Here one would like to consider additional evidence which could not be adduced there for want of space and relevance. The immediate transmission of the Krama tenets by Maṅgalā Devī to Jñānanetranātha[2] in Śitikaṇṭha finds a close analogue in Śivānanda's receiving the spiritual secrets from Maṅgalā Devī in the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[3] Moreover, Antarnetranātha is the first preceptor ever to be mentioned in connection with the Northern Seat by the *Mahānayaprakāśa*.[4] This, again,

1. उक्तं च शिवानन्दाचार्यैः — सर्वशक्तिप्रसरसंकोचाभ्यां जगत्सृष्टिः संहृतिश्च भवत्येव, न संदेहः । तस्मात्तां मूलमित्युच्यते । अतः प्रायेण सर्वसिद्धामूलापाददता भवन्ति ।
Siddha-Siddhānta paddhati, p. 20, MS belonging to Saraswati Bhawan, Varanasi.

2. *M.P.(S)*, p. 49.

3. *Vide* pp. 99, 197.

4. *M.P.(T)*, 2.36-37.

bears a close affinity to Śivānanda's relation with the Northern Seat.[1] Śrīnātha is said to have secured revelation of the spiritual truth at the first or original seat.[2] The caravan of corroborative facts does not stop here. Kṣemarāja has quoted from some Śrīnātha a passage containing his views about Kālī[3] which is definitely a Krama concept. It is interesting to note that Sivānanda has also been referred to as Nātha.[4] From these premises the following conclusions can be safely drawn that—

(i) Śrīnātha subscribed to the Krama system,

(ii) he flourished before Kṣemarāja,

(iii) there is no other Śrīnātha before Kṣemarāja (except one, who is credited with the exposition of the dualistic-cum-monistic thesis and is a contemporary of Amardaka and Traiyambaka) subscribing to the monistic tradition,

(iv) Śrīnātha[5] of Śitikaṇṭha does not appear to be different from his Jñānanetranātha,[6] because of the close similarity in their relation with their Pīthas.[7]

(v) there is only nominal and no semantic difference between Jñānanetra and Antarnetra,

(vi) there is a strikingly close resemblance among the accounts of Śivānanda, Jñānanetra, Antarnetra and Śrīnātha, and

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1. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.
2. *M.P.(S)*, p. 73.
3. यदुक्तं श्रीश्रीनाथपादैः "श्रयेत्स्वातन्त्र्यशक्ति स्वां सा श्रीकाली परा कला।"
   S.S. Vi., p. 92.
4. क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः।
   सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे ... ॥
   T.A.V., III, p. 195.
5. *M.P. (S)*, p. 73.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
7. पीठवरे प्राप्तादेशेन ज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन
   Ibid., p. 49.
   आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु
   Ibid., p. 73.

(vii) there is nobody else than Śivānanda who could fulfil all these qualifications simultaneously before the time of Kṣemarāja.

Hence the proposition laying down their equation cannot be ridiculed as absurd and unfounded. However, this suggestion has been advanced here only as a tentative measure. About his personal life we know nothing except that Samayā, according to the *Pañcaśatika*, was his spouse.

(vii) *Vasugupta* (800-850 A.D.)

Among the authors ascribed to this period the claim of Vasugupta must be considered, who is primarily a Trika as well as a Spanda author and is nowhere mentioned as the Krama author. But a close perusal of his *Śiva-Sūtras* as well as the *Spanda-Kārikās* would reveal his contribution to the cause of the Krama system too. There are two schools with regard to the interpretation of the *Śiva-Sūtras*. Bhāskara represents one school that explains it as embodying the Spanda doctrine and divides the work into three Prakaraṇas or Prakāśas, In so doing he steps into the shoes of Kallaṭa who got the *Śivasūtras* in four divisions, the first three of which he explained by his *Śpanda-Kārikās* and the last one by a commentary called *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*.[1] Bhāskara comments on the first three chapters only. Here in his interpretations his taciturnity regarding the Krama system does not permit one to form a definite view. But the other school represented by Kṣemarāja and Varadarāja interprets the *Śivasūtras* in the light of the Trika system or so to say, the Kashmir Śaivism in general and divides the whole work into the three sections in accordance with the three Upāyas. Thus the second section deals with Śāktopāya which is the traditional way of presenting the Krama system. Below in footnote a few Sūtras, in addition to the second chapter, that particularly incorporate the Krama tenets

1. ... चतुःखण्डानि तान्यथ ॥
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ॥
S.S.V., 1. 4-5, also see *S.S.Vi*, p. 130; *Sp.P.*, p. 30; *I.P.V.V.*, II, p. 30.

are also indicated.[1] In the philosophical portion a reference has invariably been made to such portions of the *Śiva-Sūtras* as have the slightest bearing on the Krama system.

Similarly Kṣemarāja, who ascribes authorship of the *Spanda-Kārikās*[2] to Vasugupta, presents the basic theme of the Kārikās as consisting in the enunciation of the Mahārtha doctrine.[3] We have also seen Utpala, the author of the *Spanda-Pradīpikā,* referring to the common features between the Spanda and Krama systems. Hence this study.

The date of Vasugupta does not present much difficulty. We know Kallaṭa was the direct disciple of Vasugupta. According to Kalhaṇa,[4] Kallaṭa was a contemporary of king Avantivarman whose period of reign extends from 855 to 883 A.D. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that Vasugupta, the teacher of Kallaṭa, belonged to the preceding generation which might have been alive and active during the first half of the ninth century.

Besides the two works alluded to above, the three other books ascribed to Vasugupta are the (i) *Spandāmṛta,*[5] (ii) *Vāsavī Ṭīkā* and (iii) *Siddhāntacandrikā*. The claim of the first work as an independent treatise is now rejected by the modern scholars.[6] It is supposed to be identical with the *Spanda-Kārikās* with difference in the title only, because the word *Spandāmṛta* seems to be more of a metaphorical expression. The *Vāsavī Ṭīkā* is a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. A complete manuscript of it has not yet been discovered. The first six chapters are probably mixed up in another commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* called *Lāsakī* by Rājānaka Lāsaka the manuscripts of which, according to Natarajan; are however available. The third work e.g.,

1. *Sp.K.*, 1. 6, 12, 17, 21, 22; 3. 13, 16, 25, 27, 30, 43.
2. लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तकृतनिहितेः ।
   वसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥
   Sp.N., 4.2; also p. 3.
3. *Vide Sp. N.*, pp. 6, 74 and *Sp.S.*, pp. 11-12, 19-22.
4. *R.T.*V. 66.
5. *Sp.N.*, p. 1, verse 2; *S.K.V.*, p. 40, verse 2.
6. *Abhi.*, p. 156. *Vide* also *Contribution* (MS.), p. 329.

Siddhānta Candrika is noticed by Bühler.[1] Since Vasugupta is not an exclusive author on the Krama system unnecessary details may be avoided.[2]

It may not be out of place to add that the *Śiva Sūtras*, as extant now, are known to us not in their entirety. Kṣemarāja, in his *Spanda Sandoha*, quotes two Śiva-Sūtras which are not traceable to the published text.[3] Abhinavagupta also refers to one such Sūtra in his *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti Vimarśini*.[4] It is possible that these Sūtras belong to the fourth division of the *Śivasūtras* which has not been commented upon by any author except Kallaṭa who is depicted by Bhāskara to have written the *Tattvārtha Cintāmaṇi* commentary on it. A further probe into the available literature would perhaps give us a few more such Sūtras.

(viii) *Three female disciples of Śivānanda—Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā* (825-875 A.D.)

We have just seen that Śivānanda's immediate disciples included three female ascetics namely, Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā.[5] As such, there is no difficulty in fixing their approximate date. All our information about them is based on an extract from the *Kramakeli* as preserved by Jayaratha. Till their period one does not find any trace of the mainstream of Krama splitting into sub-schools. Like Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā too were taken into favour by Śivānanda.[6] All

1. Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, 1877, *Cat.* No. 501 (MSS).
2. For further reference *cf. Abhi.*, pp. 154-157; *Contribution* (S), pp. 296–299, 327-330.
3. अस्ति च शिवसूत्रम् 'सकृद्विभातोऽयमात्मा पूर्णोऽस्य न क्वापि अप्रकाशसंभवः' इति । तथा 'चिद्घनमात्मपूर्णम् विश्वम्' इत्यादिना ।
4. ब्रह्मपदे कमलशरीरस्तदुत्थप्राणिरूपेण सर्वत्र सर्वदा विचरति ।
Both quoted by M.S. Kaul, *A Short Review of the Research Publications* (Kashmir State), year not given, p. 10.
5. पीठेश्वरीभ्यः उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाल्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः ... ।
T.A.V., III, p. 192.
6. किं च श्रीमदवतारकनाथेन श्रीककारदेवीवत् श्रीमदनिकाश्रीकल्याणिके चानुगृहीते, इत्यपि अतोऽवसितम् ।
T.A.V., III, p. 192.

of them were the guardian deities of some Pītha.[1] Keyūravatī, who was also called Kakāradevī,[2] appears to be most important among the three. These three were responsible for imparting the Krama tenets to Śrī Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka.[3] Besides this, Jayaratha has preserved some more information about Keyūravatī. The historical value of the information will be determined later while discussing Cakrabhānu. In addition to these three, namely, Govindarāja etc.[4] she is said to have three other disciples as well whose names are not known.[5] Yet the preceptorial traditions ensued from the latter three students. Hence they are depicted as 'Savaṁśas'. It is impossible to identify these people today. At another place also from Keyūravatī down to the pupil of Cakrabhānu, sixteen generations of the Krama teachers are said to have flourished.[6] But validity of such a view is somewhat dubious, because the intention of Jayaratha behind alluding to these views is to suggest the conflicting nature of hearsays with regard to one and the same person or author and impossibility of construing any definite conclusion from such a scattered mass. Nevertheless, the respect enjoyed by Keyūravatī is not compromised. This is borne out by the homage paid to her by Eraka or Naverakanātha, who eulogizes her as the Divinity *par excellence*.[7]

(ix) *Kallaṭa* (825-875 A.D.)

Kallaṭa, though not exclusively belonging to the Krama

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1. *Vide* fn. 5 on p.110.
2. See fn, 6 on p.110
3. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
5. अत्र श्रीककारदेव्यास्तस्याः
प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सवंशास्तु । इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं—
श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकयोरपि एतच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथश्चास्याः अपि शिष्यः ।
Ibid., pp. 195-96.
6. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।
संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्थम् ॥
T.A.V., III, p. 195.
7. यस्याः सदा खेचरिदृष्टिरोधात्सार्वात्मिकी भाति निरन्तरोक्ता ।
तामस्मि केयूरवतीं प्रसिद्धां नमामि देवीमनिकेतसंस्थाम् ॥
Ibid., p. 196.

school, is one of the most creative geniuses of his time. He is preeminently a Spanda author. The only justification for considering him under Krama lies in his valued contribution to the Krama system through the *Spanda-kārikā* as well as his commentaries thereon. On the authority of Kṣemarāja and Bhaṭṭa Utpala one comes to know the amount of the Krama wisdom as contained in the *Spanda-kārikā*. Abhinavagupta presents Kallaṭa as indirectly propounding a Krama doctrine.[1]

Being a contemporary of king Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) his date covers the second and third quarters of the ninth century. Kalhaṇa calls him a great Siddha born for emancipating the suffering masses. Historically he occupies a unique position and from him ensue the two laudable traditions of the Spanda branch. One begins with Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and is continued up to Bhāskara who is also a teacher of Abhinavagupta, and the other starts with Mahābala and is carried up to Utpala Bhaṭṭa. Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and Utpala Bhaṭṭa are famous for their contributions to Krama as well. Computing backwards from Abhinava (960-1020 A.D.) who is a student of Bhāskara, one arrives at exactly the same period, since five intervening generations have filled the gap from Kallaṭa to Abhinavagupta.

Kallaṭa, apart from being a spiritual and religious personality, was also a man of versatile genius and wide interests. Besides his numerous philosophical major and minor treatises he is credited with the composition of literary pieces as well. A few verses have come down to us through anthologies[2] and some

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1. यदाह श्रीकल्लटः "तुटिपात इति" अत्र पातशब्दं सैव भगवती श्रीमत्काली मातृसद्भावो भैरवः प्रतिभा इत्यलं रहस्यारहस्यनेन ।
T.S., pp. 104-105, *Vide* also *T.A.* 10. pp. 208-212.

2. *Vide Subhāṣitāvalī* or Vallabhadeva, Verse Nc. 136.
कि तेन काव्यमधुना प्लाविता रसनिर्झरैः ।
जडात्मनोऽपि नो यस्य भवन्त्यंकुरितान्तरा ॥
Quoted by Dr. S.V. Singh, *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Poetry*, Thesis (MS), p. 78.

other sources.[1] He also contributed his mite to the Kula system as well. It is apparent from Abhinava's reference to him in a positively Kula context.[2] It is difficult to say whether or not he wrote separate treatises on Kula and Krama. But he did ventilate his views regarding problems pertaining to these systems.

Such wide erudition he could command due to his curiosity and unextinguishable thirst for knowledge. He calls himself as "a student of all" and naturally he never suffered from dearth of people readily telling him everything. After the typical slang "Every Tom, Dick and Harry", we take it, he avers that his teachership ranged from Tapana to Moṭaka.[3] Abhinavagupta quotes this verse in his *Tantrāloka* with slight modification[4] and admits the debt of Kallaṭa without reservation in one respect. He (Abhinava) also flanked the doors of all sorts of teachers even in branches of learning inferior to his own, out of sheer curiosity and quest for knowledge. In this he was largely inspired by Kallaṭa's example.[5]

The salient factor behind Kallaṭa's peerless renown consists in his controversial authorship of the *Spanda-kārikās*. Controversial in the sense that the tradition has not remained unanimous in recognizing him as the absolute author of the

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1. उक्तं ह्यनेनैवान्यत्र—
गुणैरुपेताऽपि तु सिद्धविद्या कन्येव दत्ता गुणवर्जिताय ।
सम्भोगहीना विदधात्यकीर्तिं दातुर्यतस्तत्प्रगुणाय दद्यात् ॥
Quoted, *Sp.P.*, p. 54.

2. स्वशरीराधिकसद्भावभावितामिति ततः प्राह ।
श्रीमत्कल्लटनाथः प्रोक्तसमस्तार्थलब्धये वाक्यम् ॥
T.A. 29.123-124.

3. आतपनान्मोटकान्तं यस्य मे गुरुसन्ततिः ।
तस्य मे सर्वशिष्यस्य नोपदेशदरिद्रता ॥
Sp.K.V., p. 40, verse 3.

4. *T.A.*, 13.344.

5. श्रीमता कल्लटेनेत्थं गुरुणा तु न्यरूप्यत ।
अहमप्यत एवाधःशास्त्रदृष्टिकुतूहलात् ॥
तार्किकश्रौतबौद्धार्हद्वैष्णवादीनसेविषि ।
T.A., 13. 345-46.

said text. There is a group of traditional scholars who attribute the authorship of the Kārikās to Vasugupta. Kṣemarāja[1] and Maheśvarānanda[2] who closely follows the former, treat it as a work of Vasugupta. In fact this is the heritage that they have received from Abhinava— his (Abhinava's) own statement testifies to it.[3] Abhinava and Kṣemarāja both seem to base their judgment on the authority of the following verse found in their recension as retained by Kṣemarāja in his *Spanda Nirṇaya* :

लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तःकृतनिहितेः ।
वसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ।।

—*Sp. N.* 4.2

Strangely enough, this verse is not found in the recension of Bhaṭṭa Utpala, author of the *Spanda-pradīpikā*, who ascribes its authorship to Kallaṭa. He (Bhaṭṭa Utpala), on the strength of the 53rd verse, categorically holds it to be a work of Kallaṭa. The verse runs—

वसुगुप्तादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकल्लटः ।।

But, amusingly again, this verse is not found in Kṣemarāja's

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1. तत्र आद्यमेव सूत्रं विमृश्यते·· समस्तशास्त्रार्थगर्भां समुचितां स्तुतिमिमामुपदिदेश श्रीमान् वसुगुप्तगुरुः ।

Sp.S., p. 3.

···स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेशः श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वताद्भगवदिच्छयैव महाशिलातलोल्लिखितानि अतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपंचाशता श्लोकैरागमानुभवोपपत्त्यैकीकारं प्रदर्शयन् संगृहीतवान् ।···इति त्रिनिःष्यन्दमिदं स्पन्दशास्त्रम् ।

Sp.N., pp. 1-2.

2. *M.M.P.*, p. 8.

3. इति दर्शितं श्रीवसुगुप्तपादैः संविद्रूपात्मस्पन्दादेव उन्मेषनिमेषतः संघातविग्रहविपर्यासैः लयोदयोपलक्षितकृत्यपंचकप्रपंचसंभवं निरूपयद्भिः ।

I.P.V., III, p. 312;

cp. the first *Kārika* e.g.,

यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ।।

Sp.K. 1.

recension. In the beginning of his *Pradīpikā*[1] Utpala emphatically asserts his position that Vasugupta revealed the Spanda secrets to Kallaṭa who wrote a compendium in fifty verses for the sake of easy understanding by his pupils. He, in this connection, also records a slight modification in the tradition in respect of the *Śiva-sūtras* to the effect that the *Śiva-sūtras* were revealed to Vasugupta by a Siddha and not by Śiva himself as held by Kṣemarāja etc.[2] Bhaṭṭa Utpala is supported by a host of scholars including Bhāskara, the author of the *Vārttika* on the *Śiva-sūtras*, and Rāmakaṇṭha who wrote a *Vṛtti* on the *Spanda-kārikās*. According to Bhāskara, Kallaṭa got from his teacher four divisions of the *Śiva-sūtras* on the first three of which he wrote his *Spanda-kārikās* or *Spanda-sūtras*, and on the last one a commentary called the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*.[3] Probably the *Spanda-kārikās*, intended to be a commentary on the first three divisions, was known as *Madhu-vāhinī*.[4] Because both of them, according to Abhinava, are commentaries on the *Śiva Sūtras* and are mentioned by him in the order that conforms to Bhāskara's stand.

Thus the following facts emerge from the above discussion Both the schools concurred that—

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1. अयमत्र किलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तद् भट्टकल्लटेन्दुर्वसुगुप्तगुरोरवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ॥
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुप्पंचाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् ॥
Sp.P., Introductory verses. This is also to be noted that Kṣemarāja talks of 51 Kārikās whereas Bhaṭṭa Utpala of 50 Kārikās.

2. See fn. 3 below.

3. श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासन् शिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यमतः सोऽपि प्रादाद् भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोऽप्येवं चतुः खण्डानि तान्यथ ॥
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ॥
S.S.V., pp. 2-3, verses 3-5.

4. शिवसूत्रवृत्त्योर्मधुवाहिनीतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्योर्भट्टश्रीकल्लटपादैः ।
I.P.V.V., II, p. 30.
Vide also *K.S*, Chatterji, pp. 31, 37.

(i) the *Spanda-kārikās* were a commentary on the *Śiva-sūtras*,

(ii) Vasugupta and Kallaṭa both are related to the *Spanda-kārikās* whether directly or indirectly,

(iii) Kallaṭa did write two commentaries on the *Śiva-sūtras*.

And the two schools disagreed with regard to—

(i) its authorship — an issue Vasugupta *versus* Kallaṭa,

(ii) origin of the *Siva-sūtras* — Divine i.e , received from Śiva, or Secular i.e., revealed by a Siddha,

(iii) recension of the *Spanda-kārikās* — mutual black-out of the verses pertaining to authorship and their number e.g., fifty-one or fifty, in their respective recensions, and

(iv) divisions of the *Śiva-sūtras* — three or four.

On the basis of the material produced above there should be no doubt that one does not have extant today the original text of the *Spanda-kārikās*. What one has must be an edited text — rendered and modified by the schoolmen in order to cater to their doctrinal requisites. If one sets out to locate its cause, one has to make a study in the motives of these schoolmen before he can positively conclude anything.

It has been frequently repeated that the Spanda system is nearest to the Krama for its unmistakable emphasis on the dynamic aspect of reality which technically passes under the name of Śakti or Spanda or Vimarśa. If this be granted, the *Spanda-kārikā* must propound a system that is Śākta in nature. It is why the *Spanda-kārikā*, despite the fact that it is a commentary on the *Śivasūtras*, is considered to be the Bible of the Spanda system, whereas the *Śivasūtras* are concerned with the Trika in general. According to Bhāskara, Kallaṭa directly transmitted his interpretation of the *Śivasūtras* to Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa[1] who has been ruthlessly criticized for his Śākta leanings by

1. एवं रहस्यमप्येष मातुलेयाय चावदत् ।
श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय ... ... ॥
S.S.V., 1.6.

Somānanda.[1] In the wake of such contingency, if Kallaṭa is allowed to lay his claim to the *Spanda-kārikās*, it will be an uphill task to filter Śaiva theses from the *Spanda-kārıkās*. Because that would mean leaving the Śaiva system in the hands of the Śāktas who, though kith and kin of the former, tread a different line. Hence Somānanda and his fellow-travellers accepted Vasugupta to be the author of the *Spanda-kārikās* and accordingly modified their edition in so far as it threw whatever feeble light on its authorship. Kallaṭa, it appears, was the original author, for the simple reason that even before Somānanda his system happens to show a marked softness to Śākta tendencies. It was for this reason that his direct disciple falls a victim to the tirade launched by Somānanda. Moreover Kṣemarāja refers to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, who was a precursor of Abhinava and wrote a commentary on the *Spanda-kārikās* and suggests that Lollaṭa explained them in conformity with the gloss of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, whereas he (Kṣemarāja) has not always done so.[2] Even elsewhere Kṣemarāja clearly professes to have taken an independent line.[3] In this connection it is also to be noted, to which attention has been drawn earlier too, that Abhinava — the prolific master author — did not write anything on the *Spanda-kārikās*[4] in spite of his numerous reverential references to

1. शैवदर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयूथ्यानाम् ।

S Dr.V., p. 98; also see pp. 16, 94-95.

अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः···इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि··तैरशैवत्वमात्मन उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp. 101-102.

Before अभिधानात् Utpala quotes a verse from Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's *Tattvagarbha*.

2. भट्टलोल्लटेनापि तदाद्यन्त इत्येवमेव व्याख्यायि स्ववृत्तौ । भट्टश्रीकल्लटवृत्त्यक्षराण्यपेक्ष्य वयमपि तद्वृत्त्यक्षरानुरोधेन सौत्रमर्थमतिविमलमपि क्लिष्टकल्पनया व्याकर्तुमशिक्षिताः ।

Sp.N., p. 34.

3. एवमेतादृशेषु चिन्तारत्नप्रायेषु श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रेषु यदन्यैः सर्वैर्विवृतिकृद्भिर्व्याख्यायि यच्चास्माभिः किंचिद्व्याक्रियते तत्रान्तरममत्सरा अनवलिप्ताश्च स्वयमेव विचिन्वन्तु सचेतसो···।

Ibid., p. 13

4 अनन्तापरटीकाकृन्मध्ये स्थितिममृष्यता ।
विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ॥

Ibid., p. 77, verse 2.

Kallaṭa. This we know on the authority of Kṣemarāja. The only logical and irresistible conclusion that follows in the wake of such strong evidence is to admit the original authorship of the *Spanda-kārikās* as belonging to Kallaṭa.

Besides his *Spanda-kārikā* which is most probably identical with the *Spanda-sūtras* mentioned by Bhāskara,[1] which again is perhaps identical with his *Madhuvāhinī*, he wrote several other works. Amongst which a brief commentary on the *Spanda-kārikās* known as *Spanda-Vṛtti* has come down to us and has been published in combined IV-Vth volumes of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. What is today known as the *Spanda-sarvasva* is not a different text but probably a name for the Vṛtti and Kārikās together.[2] This is clear from the concluding verses of his *Vṛtti*. Kallaṭa also makes it clear in the second concluding verse that he owes the Spanda-thesis to Vasugupta who got it in the form of *Śiva-sūtras* from the Lord in a dream, but the credit of bringing it before the public must go to him (Kallaṭa).[3] This statement from Kallaṭa also goes to favour the present ascription of authorship of the *Kārikās* to himself.

Of all his Spanda works the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi* seems to have won special favour with the later authors. Abhinava refers to it more than once.[4] Bhaṭṭa Utpala quotes it twice[5] and

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1. व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्य: स्पन्दसूत्रै: स्वकैस्तथा ।
S.S.V., 1.5.

2. समाप्तं स्पन्दसर्वस्वं प्रवृत्तं भट्टकल्लटात् ।
स्वप्रकाशैकचित्तत्त्वपरिरम्भरसोत्सुकात् ॥
Sp.K.V., p. 40. v.1.

3. दृब्धं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धो: ।
स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादै: श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥
Ibid., p. 40, v. 2.

4. *T.A.* 10.208. Vide also *T.A.V.*, VII, p. 142; *I.P.V.V*, II, p 30.

5. तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ च—
इत्थं तत्तदनल्पमोहदलनप्राप्तस्वरूपोदये
योगी नित्यमनात्मभावविरहात्स्वात्मस्थितौ निर्वृतः ।
दृश्य-द्रष्टृविवेकविद् भवपदव्यापी विमुक्ताभयो
व्युत्थानेऽपि समाधिभाग्भवति सन्मोक्षश्रियः कारणम् ॥ इति
Sp.P., p. 30.

या चैषा स्थिति: सैव तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रा इत्युक्ता ।
Sp P., p. 49 (on *Sp.K.* 43.)

Kṣemarāja also falls in line with them.[1]

On the testimony of Bhaṭṭa Utpala one is led to conclude that Kallaṭa also wrote a work named *Tattvavicāra.* It may, however, be added that this work has not been noticed earlier by any author on the Kashmir Śaivism. According to Utpala, Kallaṭa is the author (Granthakāra) of the *Kārikas.* He has referred twice to the *Tattvavicāra* as another work of the author.[2] From the perusal of the quoted verses it appears to be a metaphysical treatise and an independent work. not a commentary, by Kallaṭa who gave expression to the outcome of his philosophical reflections in it.

Whatever little material we have in our possession is sufficient to indicate that in addition to his known works he attempted several other works. Attention has already been invited to his ventures in the spheres of the Kula system as well as the litreature. Jayaratha, while explaining a reference by Abhinava to Kallaṭa,[3] cites three sūtras[4] and attributes them to the latter without assigning actual textual source. From Jayaratha's treatment it appears that all the three sūtras fall into succession.[5] These sūtras are not traceable to his extant works.

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1. *S.S.Vi.*, p. 138.
2. (a) ग्रन्थकृताप्युक्तम् तत्त्वविचारे—
   शक्तिप्रसरसंकोचनिबद्धावुदयव्ययौ ।
   यस्यात्मा स शिवो ज्ञेयः सर्वभावप्रवर्तकः ॥
   Sp.P., p. 9.
   (b) ग्रन्थकृता तत्त्वविचारेऽप्युक्तम्·—
   स्वस्वभावस्थिता भावाः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते परस्परम ।
   भोग्यभोक्तृत्वभावेन न कदाचित्स्वभावतः ॥
   द्रष्टानुभविता स्मर्ता ग्राहको भोक्तृवेदकः ।
   कर्तोपलब्धा संवेत्ता ज्ञातेति ज्ञानसंज्ञकाः ॥ इति ।
   तेन ज्ञानमेव ज्ञेयरूपतया प्रथते इत्यर्थः ।
   Ibid., p. 39.
3. *T.A.* 28.338-339.
4. (i) देहनीलादीनां सर्वशरीरग्रहणम्,
   (ii) प्राणाख्यनिमित्तदार्ढ्यम्,
   (iii) प्राक्संवित्प्राणे परिणता ।
   T.A.V., XI, p. 138.
5. तदनया समनन्तरोक्तया
   Ibid., p. 188 (28th Āhnika).

The last two are, however, in all probability from the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*,[1] though it is extremely difficult to say anything definitely about the source of the first one.

(x) *Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka* (850-900 A.D.)

Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka were the direct spiritual successors to the three female ascetics. They were contemporaries and received their lessons in Krama almost simultaneously from Keyūravatī etc.[2] With them a new element in the Krama history is introduced. The unitary mainstream drifts into various sub-currents and the foundation of multilateral development is laid.[3] This multiplicity of traditions was kept alive till the time of Jayaratha.[4] Both Govindarāja and Bhānuka head the two rich traditions. Govindarāja taught Somānanda while Bhānuka was responsible for founding a different line of teachers of the eminence of Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa etc. Jayaratha came in this line of teachers and was in possession of the traditional and scholastic secrets.[5]

Since only one generation intervened between these three and Śivānanda and since Somānanda came in the immediate next generation, their time is almost certain. They may easily be assigned to the second half, or to be more exact, the third quarter of the ninth century.

After his spiritual enlightenment, it occurred to Govindarāja that nothing worthwhile was left for him to do in view of his attainment. Thus with a spirit of dedication he gave himself till his last breath to the task of imparting the system to

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1. अतएव श्रीभट्टकल्लटेन 'प्राणाख्यनिमित्तदार्ढ्यम्', 'प्राक्संवित्प्राणे परिणता' इति तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणावुक्तम् ।

S.S.Vi., p. 138.

2. सममेवोपदेशं.. श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः प्राप्नुवन्तः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 192.

3. श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकादिक्रमेण बहुशाखमेवं गुरूपदेशः समस्तीति ।

Ibid.

4. योऽद्यापि महात्मनां महागुरूणां हृदयपथे शतशः परिपोस्फुरीति ॥

Ibid.

5. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.

the elite capable and eager to learn.[1] Towards the last moment he handed over the doctrinal mysteries to Somānanda.[2] He subscribed to the view that the number of Kālīs to be worshipped in Anākhyā Cakra was twelve. This view had come down to Jayaratha, although he did not belong to Govindarāja's tradition.[3]

Eraka was the third pupil of Keyūravatī etc.[4] He developed a feeling of ascetic aversion towards worldly enjoyment that necessarily results in pain. He, therefore, decided to keep celibate all his life and dedicate himself to spiritual emancipation of the laity by means of the stotras[5] which he composed for propagating the system among the masses. Unfortunately none of his stotras could survive the atrocities of time. Only two verses of his have come down to us. In one of them he adores Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī and describes it as an inevitable outcome of one's attaining the ultimate state.[6] In the second he extols the spiritual attainment of Keyūravatī, his preceptor, who by virtue of her realizing the Khecarī state is said to remain in constant unison with the cosmic reality.[7] Jayaratha has recorded a verse from some other source which speaks highly of Eraka as one having scored victory over the dualistic consciousness.[8] In fact

1. *Ibid.*
2. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय गुरवे संचारयाम्बभूव ।

Ibid.

3. अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्मः, यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।

Ibid., p. 198.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 196.
5. तदिदानीमपि निजभ ावगतरहस्यापदेशं स्तोत्रमुखेनापि तावत्प्रसारयन् लोकान् अनुगृह्णीं-याम् इति ।

Ibid., p. 193.

6. श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि महोग्रकाली, भीमोत्कटभ्रूकुटिरेष्यति भंगभूमिः ।
इत्याकलय्य परमां स्थितिमेत्य, कालसंकर्षिणीं भगवतीं हठतोऽधितिष्ठेत् ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 193.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
8. वन्दे ध्वस्तसमस्तभावविभवं श्रीमन्नवेराभिधं ।
तं यो यत्किरणौघपातविलसत्स्पर्शोदयो जृम्भते ॥

Ibid.

it is a glowing tribute to his spiritual eminence. To point out that he was an avowed celibate[1] is perhaps to imply that other teachers led a married life. He was also known as Naveraka-nātha[2] or Navera.[3]

Out of all the three known disciples of Keyūravatī the personality of Eraka arouses some curiosity and controversy. While dealing with his own genealogy and preceptorial succession in the concluding portion of the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinava mentions one Eraka[4] who is a Deśika (teacher) and father of a Vāmanātha. The question is whether the two can be identified. Vāmanātha is mentioned as a teacher of Abhinava and Eraka happens to be his father. Eraka is, therefore, removed by one generation from Abhinava. One has to bear in mind that the first Eraka is a class-fellow and, for that reason, a contemporary of Govindarāja and Bhānuka and hence is removed by three generations (e.g., Somānanda, Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta). The other Eraka naturally seems to be a contemporary of Utpala, the grand teacher of Abhinava. It is difficult to reject the theory of Eraka's being a classfellow of Govindarāja in view of their much insisted synchronous initiation. It is therefore, perhaps reasonable to take the two Erakas as different.

(xi) *Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa* (850-900 A.D.)

In his essay on the Tripurā system Braj Vallabha Dwivedi has observed in categorical terms that the *Tattvagarbha*, a stotra by Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, was a Krama work.[5] The ground for his contention has been supplied by the theme of the

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1. स ब्रह्मचारिवद् यावज्जीवं प्रपन्नलोकोद्धरणमात्रपरः···
Ibid., p. 193.

2. नवेरकनाथश्चास्या अपि शिष्यः ।

3. *Vide* fn. 8 on p. 1:1

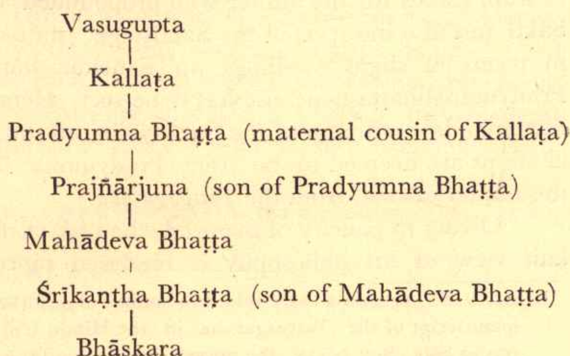
4. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्याह—
सद्दैशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनाथः ।
T.A. 37.60 (*T.A.V.*, XII, p. 414).

5. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च,
S.Su., Vol. 20-II, p. 16, fn. 3.

stotra — it is addressed to Ambikā, the Mother Divine. Before the veracity of this statement is examined, a few words about the work and its author appear called for.

Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's importance may be gauged from the very fact that he has been referred to in some way or the other by every author right from Somānanda to Kṣemarāja. He was bitterly opposed by Somānanda for his Śākta predisposition inside the Śaiva fold. Utpala elucidates what has already been said by his master. Abhinava and Kṣemarāja cite him in their support.

He was a worthy student of his worthy teacher Kallaṭa and also a maternal cousin of the latter.[1] Bhāskara, in the prefatory part of the *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*, gives out his preceptorial lineage as below :[2]



Even on a cursory glance it would be obvious that he is removed from Vasugupta by a generation only. And although he was a direct disciple of Kallaṭa, he must have been his junior contemporary too, since he was his (Kallaṭa's) maternal cousin. Between him and Bhāskara three generations intervened. Bhāskara was Abhinava's teacher.[3] On the other hand,

1. ···एष मातुलेयाय चावदत् । श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय···।
S.S.V., 1.6.

2. *Vide S.S.V.*, 1.3-9.

3. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्य आह—
अन्येऽपि धर्मशिववामनकोद्भटश्रीभूतेशभास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः ।
T.A 37-62.

Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa preceded Somānanda as the latter criticizes him. Of all these, Kallaṭa and Abhinava are of definite dates, hence Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's time is almost certain. He is somewhere between Kallaṭa and Somānanda. He may, therefore, be conveniently placed during the latter half of the ninth century.

Excepting the *Tattvagarbha-stotra*[1] no other work of his has yet come to our notice. On Utpala's authority we know that it was his work.[2] That Somānanda does not refer to anyone else except Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa becomes obvious from Utpala's testimony, though he nowhere mentions Somānanda by name. The verses that have been cited in this eonnection by Utpala are prefaced with the phrase "Tairuktam" (lit. said by them[3] i.e., him). Here "Tair" (lit. they i.e., he), according to him, stands for the author who propounded the ultimacy of Śakti and also interpreted the Śaktistage (state of Śakti tattva) in terms of slight swelling up (Kiñciducchūnatā).[4] Besides Pradyumnabhaṭṭa none else has done so.[5] Hence, in course of Somānanda's criticism of the Śaktivādin, all the references and citations are deemed to be from Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, and for the matter of that, from the *Tattvagarbha*.

Owing to paucity of material the task of forming a well-knit view of his philosophy is rendered more onerous. Yet

1. Dr. V.S. Agrawala had told tne author about the presence of one manuscript of the Tattvagarbha in the Hindu University. It was a recent find. But before the present author could have managed to look into the MS personally Dr. Agrawata, unfortunately, passed away. Since the whole collection, in which the MS was found, is uncatalogued as yet, it is regretted that details of the MS could not be given.
2. सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते भट्टप्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे ।
S.Dr.V., p. 16.
3. *S.Dṛ.* 1.16, 3.1, 3.9; *S.Dṛ.V.*, p. 16, 94, 101, 102.
4. यतस्तैरेव ततः परावस्थातोऽनन्तरं शक्तिदशा किंचिदुच्छूनतेत्यादिनोक्ता ततो यैः शक्तेः परत्वं गीयते तैः ।
S.Dṛ.V., p. 95.
5. किंचिदुच्छूनता सैव महद्भिः कैश्चिदुच्यते ।
S.Dṛ. 1.16.
Utpala remarks--यदेतदौन्मुख्यं, सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते भट्टप्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे ।
S.Dṛ.V., p. 16.

whatever little is available is adequate to give an idea of his mental disposition. The first premise of his philosophy is to reckon Śakti as the Ultimate and yet continue to be a monist.[1] He stuck to his view in spite of the odds of his Śaiva affiliations. Hence he was a Śaktivādin though he clung to the Śaiva discipline.[2] The Mother Divine, who is the Divinity par transcendence, is pure luminosity and passes under the name of Śiva also.[3] He, in a slight deviation from the general practice of identifying Śakti with Ānanda and in apparent agreement with Somānanda, equated the Śakti-category with "little swelling" which is identical with proneness (Aunmukhya).[4] This Śakti-stage came just after the ultimate stage which is akin to the Mother Divine[5]—this view was used as a counter-argument by Somānanda against Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa. The latter held the absolute female principle as identical with Śiva with the reservation that it was Mother Divine who was also known as Śiva. Hence, while dealing with the various stages of speech he proclaimed that there was no such form of speech as was not present in Śiva, a name of the Mother, marking the Parā or transcendental stage.[6] All the three lower aspects of speech namely, Paśy-

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1. अद्वयवाद: स्थित:, पश्यन्तीविचारादनन्तरं स्वयूथ्यानद्वयवादिन: प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भ: ।

   S.Dṛ.V., III, p. 94.

2. अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभि:···इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि सद्भि: ।

   Ibid., p. 101.

3. यस्या निरुपाधिज्योतीरूपाया: शिवसंज्ञया ।
   व्यपदेश: परां तां त्वामम्बां नित्यमुपास्महे ॥

   S.Dṛ.V., III, p. 94.

4. *Ibid.*, see fn. 5 on p. 124
5. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
6. शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि सद्भिर्वाचि एव क्रमव्यवस्थिता: पश्यन्तीमध्यमावेखरीसंज्ञाभिर्विश्वात्मतया कल्पिता: यदाहु:
   ···यावन्नोन्मेषभागणु: ।
   न तावदर्थे वर्तेत स चोन्मेष: क्रिया मता ।
   क्रिया च नानारूपैव···इत्युपक्रम्य
   स्वभावस्थितिं मुक्त्वा तस्मान्नान्यास्ति सा दशा ।
   शिवे यस्या न वाग्रूपं सूक्ष्ममप्राप्तसंनिधि ॥ इति···उक्तम् ।

   Ibid., pp. 101-102.

antī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī, emerge necessarily under the aegis of succession, Parā always remaining their fundamental fulcrum. Likewise, he was of the opinion that the entire stretch of the category kingdom encompassing the thirty-six categories is, in essence, an unfoldment of the Śakti suggesting that the godly freedom remains inevitably inherent even in the world of logical constructions.[1] Possibly this was the recurring theme of the *Tattvagarbha*.[2] It is, therefore, due to the force of rectitude of the reflective awareness that one is able to realize everything at will.[3] This rectitude is incumbent upon one's recognition of one's potencies of knowledge and action. The main plank of the adverse criticism heaped on him by Somānanda consists in the latter's stand that the position of Śiva, as the ultimate principle, cannot be compromised. To say that Śakti appears as Śiva is a statement made in a fit of devotional ecstasy.[4] Otherwise, Śakti in utter isolation from its prius (Śaktimān) is beyond conception. Nevertheless, if Śakti with utter disregard to its substrate is thought of, the one holding such a view may be anything but a Śaiva.[5] It is argued that not only Somānanda argues against him but he (Pradyumna bhaṭṭa) himself tacitly

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1. श्रीमद्भट्टप्रद्युम्नपादैः संविच्छक्तिप्रसरमात्रतां षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमुपपाद्य यत् वितत्य विकल्प-प्रतिभासनस्य स्वातन्त्र्यमुदितं, तत्र एतत् सूत्रार्थं एव सारमिति मन्तव्यम् ।
   I.P.V.V., II, p. **337** on I. P.K. 1.6.11.

2. अतएव श्रीतत्त्वगर्भस्तोत्रे विकल्पदशायामपि तात्त्विकस्वरूपस्य सद्भावात् तदनुसरणाभि-प्रायेण उक्तम्—
   अतएव तु ये केचित् परमार्थानुसारिणः ।
   तेषां तत्र स्वरूपस्य स्वज्योतिष्ट्वं न लुप्यते ॥
   P.Hr. p. 49.

3. तदुक्तं तत्त्वगर्भे —
   यदा तु तेऽपि सुव्यक्तस्वसामर्थ्यगुणोज्ज्वलाः ।
   भवेद्दृढतरादूरदारिता दार्ढ्यदीनता ।
   तदा च तेषां संकल्पः कल्पपादपतां व्रजेत् ॥
   S.S.Vi-p. 126.

4. अथ शक्तेः परावस्था यैर्भक्त्या परिगीयते ।
   युक्त्या प्रकाशितो देवस्ततः शक्तिदशा यतः ॥
   S.Dr., 3.1.

5. शक्तेश्च स्वतन्त्रं स्वनिबन्धनं कार्यं नान्याश्रयमिति शिवता नान्यत्र क्वचिद्भवेदिति शैव-दर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयूथ्यानाम् ॥
   S.Dr.V., p. 98.

acquiesces in the supremacy of Śiva by expounding that all the stages of speech finally culminate in Śiva.[1] However, the criticism by Somānanda is very brief and bereft of constructive logic. In fairness to Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, one must be cautioned that Somānanda's last plank is slightly misleading since the former has steered his position clear by recognizing Śiva as an expression for or an appellation of the Mother Divine.

Let us now be back to our original question. Is Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa a Krama author? The answer is difficult indeed. According to the testimony of Bhāskara, a spiritual descendant of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, he inherited the Spanda wisdom from Kallaṭa. While discussing Kallaṭa, it was also noticed that Somānanda and his followers were rather cut-off from the Spanda school and it is the reason why one does not get any contribution from his group to the Spanda system before Kṣemarāja. Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's name nowhere appears in the later Krama literature. Moreover Somānanda himself was a man initiated in the Krama discipline, why should he criticize another Krama author? Why then he (Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa) be not treated as a Spanda author rather than a Krama author?

As has been said, a categorical commitment is impossible and also uncalled for. But for a fuller and better perspective one must look to the other side of the picture as well. Bhāskara's observation is no doubt a limited but not a negative one. He does not reject Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's claim to Krama. Somānanda himself, before the critical study and thorough survey of the Krama system as such, was not known to be a Krama thinker. Neither he (Somānanda) has been mentioned in the later literature as a Krama author and nor has any work come down to us from his pen on Krama, yet he is a Krama preceptor. Moreover teachers of the early phase, excepting Śivānanda, have seldom been remembered in the later literature. Hence

1. अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः यस्या निरुपधिज्योतीरूपायाः शिवसंज्ञया । व्यपदेशः···इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि···इत्युपक्रम्य···शिवे यस्या न वाग्रूपं सूक्ष्ममप्राप्तसंनिधि इति तैरशैवत्वमात्मन उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp. 101-102.

this argument loses much of its force. The reasons for putting forward Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa as a Krama author lie in the central theme of the *Tattvagarbha* and its relatively deeper proclivity towards Krama. The *Tattvagarbha* is a hymn paying obeisance to the Cosmic Mother. Earlier it was pointed out that despite Śākta leanings Spanda considered Śiva to be the Ultimate principle, as will be testified to by the very first and last verses of the *Spanda-kārika*. That is, the Spanda system retained its Śaiva fervour in spite of its Śākta tendencies. But in the case of Krama the things were different. There were two distinct schools which occasionally and often necessarily entertained divergent trends. Their most fundamental line of demarcation was drawn by their respective emphases on the Śiva or Śakti aspects. The natural outcome of it was to treat either of them as the Supreme Reality, all other things being derived from it. Since the school holding the supremacy of the female deity was in ascendence, Krama has also acquired the name of Devīnaya or Kālīnaya. Further, it has to be noted that there was a lot of mutual digging at between the two schools, hence criticism by Somānanda, the mouth-piece of the "Śiva is the Supreme" — theory, of the opposite "Śakti is the Supreme" — thesis is understandable, because in his entire chain of argument he takes strongest objection to the supremacy of Śakti alone. In view of the above argumentation it appears that Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa belonged to the line of the Krama thinkers opposite to Somānanda's. Hence Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's claim to the Krama authorship requires a careful examination whatever decision one may ultimately arrive at.

(xii) *Somānanda* (875-925 A.D.)

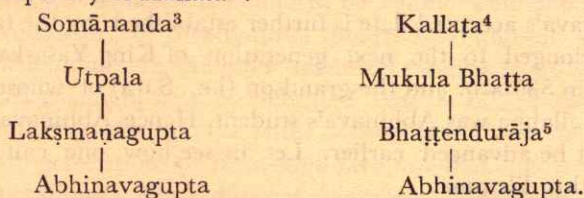
It may be recalled that Somānanda was the immediate successor of Govindarāja who, at his last moment, transmitted all the doctrinal mysteries of Krama to the former.[1] All information about Somānanda's associations with the Krama is miserably confined to this cryptic sentence from the *Kramakeli* as recorded by Jayaratha. Nothing is known whether he ever

1. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय गुरवे संचारयाम्बभूव ।

T.A.V. III, pp. 192.

attempted a work on the Krama except that Abhinava received his lessons in the *Devī-Pañcaśatika,* a Krama text, from him through Utpala and Lakṣmaṇagupta.[1]

The determination of his date, although recognized to be an untedious affair by the scholars, is slightly perplexing because of a few bottlenecks in the form of at least five preceptorial traditions that invite our attention in this behalf. On the basis of the following two parallel traditions Somānanda emerges as a contemporary of Kallata[2] :



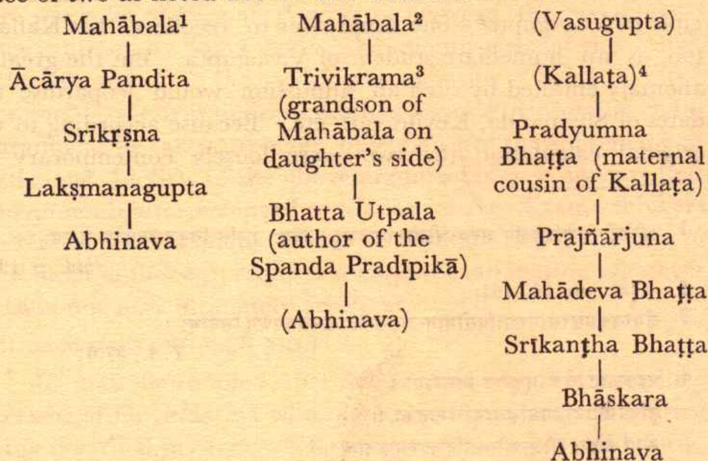
The truth of this tradition is further corroborated by a statement of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on the *Sāradā Tilaka*, wherein Somānanda is represented to be a direct disciple of Vasugupta[6]—one simply has to recollect that Kallaṭa, too, is an immediate student of Vasugupta. But the greatest anomaly entailed by such an admission would jeopardise the dates of Sivānanda, Keyūravatī etc. Because according to the original calculation the two were loosely contemporary of

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1. श्रीदेवीपंचशर्दिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्य: प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरव: ।
   Ibid., p. 194.
2. *Abhi.*, pp. 160-161.
3. त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथ: ।
   T.A., 37.61.
4. भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता ।
   सूरिप्रबोधनायेयमभिधावृत्तिमातृका ॥
   and श्रुत्वा सौजन्यसिन्धोर्द्विजवरमुकुलात् ।
   Quoted from Bhṭṭendurāja's commentary on the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sāra* and Mukula's *Abhidhā-vṛtti mātṛkā, Abhi.*, p. 137.
5. भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जकृताधिवासहृद्यश्रुतोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधोऽहम् ।
   Dh. L., I; Quoted, *Abhi.*, p. 12.
6. श्रीकण्ठं वसुमन्तं वसुगुप्तं सोमानन्दं तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।
   लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च ॥
   S.T.V., I p. 7.

Vasugupta and Kallaṭa respectively. However both these traditions agree with regard to a gap of two generations subsisting between Somānanda and Abhinava or that of three generations between Vasugupta and Abhinava. Since Kallaṭa's date is fixed owing to his flourish during the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.), there should not be a gap of more than fifty years between Somānanda and Abhinava. The implication being that Abhinava should be placed somewhere 900-950 A.D. instead of 950-1000 A.D., his commonly agreed date. Abhinava's accepted date is further established by the fact that he belonged to the next generation of King Yaśaskara who ruled in 839 A.D. and the grandson (i.e., Śūra) of whose minister Vallabha was Abhinava's student. Hence Abhinava's date cannot be advanced earlier. Let us see how one can emerge from this dilemma.

The other three traditions, given below, widen the gap between Abhinava and Kallaṭa by at least four generations in place of two as noted above. These traditions are :



1. *S.T.* 25. 83-86.
2. अतश्चास्मत्पिपुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन 'यथार्थनाम्नः क्रोधे' इत्यादिनोक्तो विभवोदयो रहस्यस्तोत्रे । *S.P.*, p. 3.
3. नारायणस्थानज उत्पलाख्यस्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽग्र्यजन्मा ।
Ibid, concluding verse.
4. *S.S V.*, 1. 3-9.

Among these family or preceptorial trees, the one ranging from Kallaṭa to Bhāskara (Abhinava's teacher) involves at least three intermediary generations even if one takes Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Kallaṭa's first disciple, as the latter's contemporary by virtue of the former's being his maternal cousin. We have already seen Somānanda criticising the view and work of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and he must have taken time in attaining eminence of the kind that he could elicit criticism from Somānanda. Thus Somānanda is bound to be a junioi contemporary, if not a successor, of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa who himself was a disciple of Kallaṭa. In the other tradition ranging from Mahābala to Laksmanagupta, the celebrated teacher of Abhinava in Krama and Pratyabhijñā, the latter is separated from the former by two generations or from Abhinava, for that matter, by three generations. This distance between Mahābala and Abhinava is substantiated by yet another tradition starting from Mahābala and coming up to Bhaṭṭa Utpala who transpires to be a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇagupta on the basis of the temporal equation of the two exactly parallel lines. If these latter twin traditions are correct—they ought to be correct because they come from different sources and yet speak of the same thing—, Somānanda being the grand-teacher of Lakṣmaṇagupta must be a contemporary of the latter's grand-father, Ācārya Paṇdita, and may at best be a successor to or a junior contemporary of Mahābala. Stretching the present logic a little further one may conclude that Mahābala himself was Kallaṭa's successor or in any case a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa.

But one should not feel baffled because such a complex analogue is found even within the traditional account of the Krama system itself. It has been made absolutely clear that Bhānuka was a contemporary of Govindarāja, teacher of Somānanda in Krama, and was at the head of the tradition which had immediate successors in Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa. This Udbhaṭa was perhaps identical with one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher, thus the gap between Bhānuka and Abhinava has been further shrunk from three to two generations, if one abides by the first two traditions mentioned in the beginning.

In the face of such yawning incongruities it is difficult to give a year to year account. One has to make allowance for marginal errors in calculations because the requisite material is not available in its entirety. Keeping this in view, it will be found that, barring the scope of minor adjustments always, our basic stand with regard to respective dates need not be revised. Because, though twentyfive years are allowed for a generation by the historians, one's actual age has no fixed span and may even cross the barriers of middle age or long age. Abhinava himself was known to have enjoyed a long life going well beyond eighty years. Likewise, Mahābala taught Trivikrama, his grandson, implying the old age of the former. In view of all these considerations Somānanda seems to have enjoyed a fairly long life. Moreover, he was a very junior, if at all, contemporary of Kallaṭa whose successors in literature too must have enjoyed a considerably long age, otherwise the two generations on the one side and the four on the other covering the same expanse of time is beyond logical comprehension. Here, in this study, twentyfive years have been allowed for each generation with a margin of another twentyfive years for computing one's period and date without prejudice to one's other claims. This practice has additional advantage of making allowance for long age as well. Somānanda, therefore, has been assigned to the last quarter of the ninth and the first of the tenth century. This period is always open to minor revisions as researches proceed to make headway.

He is known to have written several works. But only the incomplete texts of the *Siva Dṛṣti* is extant today. One of his minor works i.e., *Sāktavijñāna* has also been brought out by the Research Department of Kashmir Government. His other two works, both commentaries, are known from references only. One of them is said to be on the *Śiva Dṛṣṭi*—this view has, however, been rejected by Dr. Stein. The other was on the *Parā Trimś kā* according to the statements of Abhinava.[1] Let us

1. *P.T V*, pp. 16, 52, 59, 63, 87-90, 92, 95, 201.

now switch over to other authors.[1]

(xiii) *Ujjaṭa* (875-925 A.D.)

As has already been observed, he came in the line of Bhānuka and the tradition that began with him remained intact up to Jayaratha.[2] As an immediate successor to Bhānuka, he is supposed to be contemporaneous with Somānanda. We are completely ignorant about the other aspects of his personality.

(xiv) *Utpala* (900-950 A.D.)

There is nothing in the works of Utpala himself that may induce one to include him among the Krama authors. It is Jayaratha on whose account one knows that Abhinava received the Krama education from the same set of teachers who imparted to him the lessons in the Trika system.[3] In fact, one does not get anything in the form of a tangible contribution, earlier than Abhinava from the line of spiritual teachers as emanating from Govindarāja in the field of Krama. Utpala is credited with having produced as many as eleven works namely, (i) *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikā*, (ii) *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā vṛtti*, (iii) *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-ṭīkā* or *vivṛti*, (iv) *Śiva-stotrāvalī*, (v) *Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi*, (vi) *Īśvara-sidhi*, (vii) *Īśvara-siddhivṛtti*, (viii) *Saṁbandha-siddhi*, (iv) *Saṁbandha-siddhi-vṛtti*, (x) *Vṛtti on Somānanda's Śiva Dṛṣṭi*, and (xi) *Parameśa-stotrāvalī*. Except works nos. (iii) and (xi) all the works have been handed to us either in full or in fragments. Work No. (iii) i.e., *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-ṭīkā or vivṛti* was supposed to be a large commentary which was later commented upon by Abhinava under the title of *Īśvara-pratyabnijñā-vivṛti vimarśinī*. The catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library, Mysore mentions one *Īśvara Pratyabhijñā-Vyākhyā* by Utpala Deva. The MS. is numbered

1. For further details about Somānanda *cf. Abhi.*, pp. 135-137, 161-62, 146-17.

2. द्वितीयोऽपि एवमास्त । तस्यैव चैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भट्टादिनानागुरुपरिपाटीसंततिः यत्प्रसादासादितमहिमभिरस्माभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 192-93.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 194.

(B 167) A 133 Pa and is bound in one with *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-nyaya-dīpikā* by some Maheśvara Nāthānanda. It is not known if it is identical with the *Ṭīkā* in question.[1] Work No. (xi) is noticed by Dr. Buhler in his Kashmir Report as MS No. 458. But probably this is identical with his *Śiva-stotrāvalī*. The published edition contains twenty stotras and it is important to note that stotras Nos. 2, 3, 8, 17 and 20 have enough material that contains the Krama undertones.[2] Particularly the 8th and 17th stotras are most conspicuous by their overt Krama propensity.

There are indications that Utpala perhaps attempted several other works also. A manuscript entitled as "*Mantrasāra*" No. 501 of 1895-98, BORI, Poona ascribed to Utpala Deva[3] has come to our notice. The MS in all has 11 pages and 21 folios. It abounds in scribal errors and has later, from P. 8. onwards, been mixed with some portions of Kśemarāja's *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*. But the original work differs from the latter. It seems to be a commentary on the *Parātrīśikā* and contains an account of successive emergence of Sanskrit alphabet with its symbolic mysticism and descriptive definitions of various categories followed by a discussion on Guṇa, Substance and various types of subjects (Pramātṛs). These lines refrain from drawing any premature conclusions as to its authorship except advancing the hypothesis for future scrutiny.

Utpala's probable date does not present any problem. He, being the pupil of Somānanda and the grand-teacher of Abhinava, may safely be assigned to the first half of the tenth century.

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1. Similarly there are two MSS numbered 466 and 464 of 1878-76 and described as Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī and *Pratyabhijñā-Bṛhatī-vimarśinī* by Utpala and Abhinava respectively at *BORI*, Poona.

2. *Vide*, for instance, *S St.V.*, pp. 32, 48, 106, 199, 206, 296, 300, 303, 340, 346 etc.

3. सदागमप्रवाहेण बहुधा व्याकृतं त्रिकम् ।
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवीयं मंत्रसारं तु(व)र्ण्यते ।
MS, folio la, opening verse no. 2.

But before one passes on to the next item it appears advisable to clear up a general misunderstanding with regard to his geneology among the modern authors on the subject.

According to them Utpala was both the son and pupil of Somānanda.[1] Besides, he was the father and teacher of Lakṣmaṇagupta.[2] This lineage is said to have been derived from Abhinava's own statement :

त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।[3]

[Somānanda, his son Utpala and his son Lakṣmaṇagupta recline on the ocean of the lineage pertaining to Tryambaka]. The conclusion seems to be in order on the face of Abhinava's statement.

But if one accepts it, one is trapped in another anomalous situation. Utpala himself names his father as Udayākara in the last verse of his *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā*[4] and refers to Somānanda as his great and illustrious teacher.[5] If Somānanda was his father as alleged above, he could have utilized the opportunity to assert the same. In addition, Abhinavagupta commenting on the last Kārikā does not dispute Utpala's version but readily confirms the same.[6] Even on the issue of

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1. *Abhi.*, p. 160, 162; *Contribution.* (MS), p. 335.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 7, 164, *Contribution*, (MS), p. 340.
3. *T.A.* 37. 61.

Dr. Pandey quotes the text with slight variation and reads त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरवीचि (*Vide,Abhi* , pp. 160 and 764) for त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायि as found in the printed edition of the Tantrāloka. In that case, the English rendering would be "Somānanda, his son Utpala and his son Lakṣmaṇagupta, were like waves in the ocean of the lineage pertaining to Tryambaka". However, this difference in reading is immaterial for our present purpose.

4. जनस्यायत्नसिद्धयर्थमुदयाकरसूनुना ।
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञेयमुत्पलेनोपपादिता ।।
I.P.K. 4.1.18 (*Bhās.* II, p. 315).
5. इति प्रकटितो मया सुघट एष मार्गो नवो ।
महागुरुभिरुच्यते स्म शिवदृष्टिशास्त्रे यथा ।।
Ibid., 4.1.16, p. 309.
6. उदयाकरपुत्रः श्रीमानुत्पलदेवोऽस्मत्परमगुरुरिदं शास्त्रमकार्षीत् ।
I.P.K., 4.1.16, p. 316

his son he has not kept mum and gives out his name as Vibhramākara whose pursuasion impelled Utpala to undertake the commentary on the *Śivadṛṣṭi*.[1] Had the truth been otherwise, Utpala would not have failed to mention Lakṣmaṇagupta as his son, who was infinitely more illustrious and intelligent than Vibhramākara Here again he implicitly refers to the author of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* as his guru. There was all the more reason to refer to Lakṣmaṇagupta in this context, because it was the latter who initiated Abhinava into the *Śivadṛṣṭi*. And if Utpala be accused of misleading the posterity, Abhinava had the opportunity to make corrective amends which he did not do. There is an additional collateral evidence to substantiate the present contention that Lakṣmaṇagupta was not Utpala's son. According to the *Śāradātilaka Tantra* he (Lakṣmaṇagupta) was the son of some Śrīkṛṣṇa, grandson of Ācārya Paṇḍita and great-grand-son of Mahābala.[2] This point would be examined in detail when we discuss Lakṣmaṇagupta.

Then, should Abhinava be held guilty of misguiding the people by his statement on which the conclusion at issue is based ? It is not the case. In fact, Abhinava is here alluding to his teachers[3] and is discussing their 'Santatikrama' (lit., geneology) which as a technical expression stands for their preceptorial lineage, implying that the unity of a tradition depends upon the extent of its continuity. Anybody falling under that tradition would be known as Santāna of his spiritual predecessor.[4] Purity and exclusiveness of a preceptorial tradition

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1. विभ्रमाकरसंज्ञेन स्वपुत्रेणास्मि चोदितः ।
पद्मानन्दाभिधानेन तथा सब्रह्मचारिणा ॥
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञोक्तविस्तरे गुरुनिर्मिते ।
शिवदृष्टिप्रकरणे करोमि पदसंगतिम् ॥
S.Dṛ.V., p. 2, V. Nos. 2 & 3.

2. *S.T.* 25.83-86.

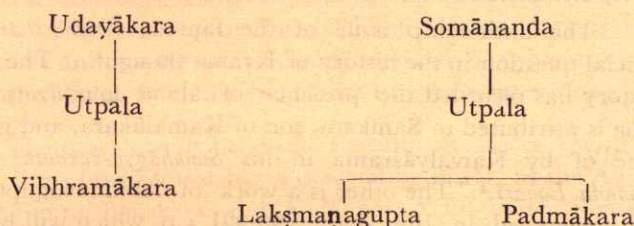
3. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्याह ।
T.A.V., XII, p. 414

4. यावानस्य संतानो गुरुस्तावत्स कीर्तितः ।
T.A., I. 235.

Jayaratha remarks संतानः शिष्यप्रशिष्यादिरूपः ।
T.A.V., 1, p. 252.

is deemed to be a very sacred affair in Kashmir Śaivism.[1] Thus the expression 'Ja' in the words 'Somānandātmaja' and 'Utpalaja' is figurative and not literal. This will be apparent from a perusal of Abhinava's statement in full, because his sole intention is to refer to all the four traditions of Kashmir Śaivism pertaining to Ananda, Śrīnātha, Tryambaka and the Fourth School.[2]

Moreover, all doubts on this score have been set at rest for good by Jayaratha who interprets the phrase "sons of Somānanda" used by Abhinava[3] as "pupils of Somānanda such as Utpala etc."[4] The mistake in taking Somānanda as Utpala's father and Lakṣmaṇagupta as his son appears to have crept in due to interpreting the word Atmaja and Santati in their literal sense. Thus Utpala's parental and preceptorial traditions would take the following forms respectively :



(xv) *Udbhaṭṭa* (900-950 A.D.)

He is supposed to be the grand pupil of Bhānuka and successor to Ujjaṭa. It is a matter of guess if he ever wrote on

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1. तादात्म्यप्रतिपत्त्यै हि स्वं संतानं समाश्रयेत् ।।
भुंजीत पूजयेच्चक्रं परसंतानिना नहि ।
T.A., 4. 268-69.

2. आनन्दसंततिमहार्णवकर्णधारः सद्देशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनाथः ।
श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरधर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ।।
त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।
तुर्याख्यसंततिमहोदधिपूर्णचन्द्रः श्रीसोमतः सकलवित्किल शंभुनाथः ।।
T.A., 37. 60-61.

3. क्षोभाधारमिमं प्राहुः श्रीसोमानन्दपुत्रकाः ।।
T.A., 3.85.

4. तमेतं क्षोभस्य संवित्स्वातन्त्र्यस्य आधारं विषयं श्रीसोमानन्दस्यानुकम्प्याः पुत्राः श्रीमदुत्पलदेवप्रभृतयः शिष्या प्राहुः —आचक्षत इत्यर्थः ।
T.A.V., II, p 95.

the Krama system, but there is no doubt about his being a repository of the tradition that was kept intact up to Jayaratha. Besides him, there are two other Udbhaṭas as well. One came pretty early and was described as the Sabhāpati of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.) by Kalhaṇa.[1] He was a great poetician. The other Udbhaṭa, in question, is one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher.[2] Of these two, the latter may be identified with the Krama author. However, this personality-equation is being advanced as a tentative measure, for Jayaratha actually reads Udbhaṭṭa and not Udbhaṭa.[3] But this might be due to scribal mistake also. If this equation be granted, he must have been of fairly advanced age when Abhinava approached him for instruction. He may also be placed in the first half of the tenth century.

(xvi) *Stotrakāra i.e. Sidha Nātha* (900-950 A.D.)

The authorship issue of the famous *Krama stotra* is a crucial question in the history of Krama thought. The tantric history has recorded the presence of about four *Krama-stutis*. One is attributed to Śaṁkara, son of Kamalākara, and is taken note of by Kaivalyāśrama in his *Saubhāgya-vardhini* on the *Ānanda Laharī*.[4] The other is a work of Abhinavagupta and was composed in the years 990-991 A.D. which will be dealt with during our treatment of Abhinava. Uncertainty prevails about the third *Krama stuti* a reference to which has been made by Monier Williams under the word "Krama" in his dictionary without giving further details or source of information. The fourth is one in question whose authorship is the subject-matter of the present enquiry. We are not aware if the third and fourth works are one and identical. The first *Krama stuti* is presently beyond our scope owing to its adherence to the Tripurā system. The third, too, is left out in the absence of necessary and relevant data. Hence we concentrate on the fourth *Krama stuti* whose author is yet a matter of speculation.

1. *R.T.*, 4.495.
2. अन्येऽपि धर्मशिववामनकोद्भटश्रीभूतेशभास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः ॥
T.A., 37.62.
3. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.
4. *S.L.* (Madras Edn.), pp. 13, 45.

The traditional account is silent even on the bare details of the author. He is always described and presented as the Stotrakāra.[1] Since the questions of his identity and date cannot be investigated in isolation from each other, the only course open is to treat them together.

The earliest author who refers to the *Krama stotra* is Abhinava himself who, on his own information, wrote commentary on it called *Kramakeli*.[2] His date is definite i.e., second half of the tenth century, and he himself composed a *Krama stotra* emulating his precursor's example during the year 990-991 A.D. Therefore, the lower limit of the *Krama stotra* is set by the date of Abhinava. It, therefore, must have been composed prior to 950-975 A.D. A dive into Jayaratha's account would reveal that various commentaries had come up by his time and certain doubts were being raised about its precise content and number of verses comprising it. Different interpretations were advanced and a state of confusion tends to overtake us. Jayaratha draws our attention to at least two such expositions.[3]

The other cue in Jayaratha's treatment traces the traditional line of the Stotrakāra in descending order as the Author of the Stotra, Bhāskara and Kuladhara.[4] Of these, Bhāskara is comparatively familiar figure and is perhaps the same as Abhinava's teacher of the same name. This possibility gains firmer ground in view of the absence of any other Bhāskara prior to Abhinava. Since the Stotrakāra preceded Bhāskara, he must belong to the first quarter or the first half, in any case, of the tenth century. In other words, his date should not be later than Bhāskara's. This is the time to which Lakṣmaṇa-

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1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः ।
   T.A.V., III, p. 191.
2. *Vide P.T.V.*, p. 236.
3. इत्यत्र विवरणकारान्तरसंमत एव पाठ इति ।
   T.A.V., III, p. 202.

   विवरणकारान्तर implies the presence of two distinct commentators.
4. श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वासु संततिषु ।
   Ibid., p. 191.

gupta and Śaṁbhunātha, Abhinava's teachers in Krama and Kula respectively, belonged. On the other hand, the upper limit of the *Krama stotra* does not extend beyond Eraka who, as a contemporary of Govindarāja and Bhānuka, is assigned to the third quarter or the second half of the ninth century. Because, the first ever credit of writing the stotras in the Krama history goes to Eraka who made it a mission of his life to popularise the Krama system through his stotras. Hence the probable time of the *Krama stotra* and, for this matter, its author must fall somewhere within 850-950 A.D.

From the tentative fixation of the probable period of the Stotrakāra let us now proceed to discover the identity of the author. The *Cidgagana-candrikā*, which on its own authority is a commentary on the *Krama stotra*, attributes the authorship to some Siddhanātha[1] or Siddhinātha.[2] There is no reason whatsoever to deny the account as furnished by the *Cidgagana-candrikā*. Now, according to Pṛthvīdharācārya, the author of the *Bhuvaneśī-stotra*, Siddhinātha and Śambhunātha are the two names of one and the same individual.[3] During the projected period (850-950 A.D.) only one Śaṁbhunātha is known to the history of Tantric monism. He is the most esteemed teacher of Abhinavagupta whom he initiated into the Kula system and guided along the path of final emancipation. It is of course interesting to note that the first concluding verse of the *Tantrasāra* echoes Pṛthvīdharācārya's depiction of Śaṁbhunātha not only in import but in choice of diction too.[4] This has been the

1. सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पंचिकाम् ।
C.G.C., 4.126.

2. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद् भावस्तवमादरात् ।
Ibid., 4.133.

3. श्री सिद्धिनाथ इति कोऽपि युगे चतुर्थे प्राविर्बभूव करुणावरुणालयेऽस्मिन् ।
श्रीशंभुरित्यभिधया स मयि प्रसन्नं चेतश्चकारसकलागमचक्रवर्ती ॥
Śrībhuvaneśī-mahāstotram, Verse No.37.

Also see,
श्रीशंभुनाथ । करुणाकर । सिद्धिनाथ ।
श्री सिद्धिनाथ । करुणाकर । शंभुनाथ ॥
Ibid., verse no. 40.

4. श्रीशंभुनाथात् करुणारसेन स्वयं प्रसन्नादनपेक्षवृत्या ।
काश्मीरिकोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधानः श्रीतन्त्रसारमकरोद् ऋजुना क्रमेण ॥

main plank of A. Avalon, the editor of the *Cidgagana-candrikā*, in identifying the two.[1]

But let us be careful. The odds against this personality-equation are equally heavy. First, Śaṁbhunātha is famous for his teachings in the Kula system and not in the Krama. Though it is not unusual for a Kula teacher to be proficient in any other cognate philosophical system Abhinava, who is so scrupulous in mentioning the minutest possible details about his teachers, should not have failed to record this aspect of his teacher's personality. Secondly, this Siddhanātha *alias* Śaṁbhunātha of Pṛthvīdharācārya should necessarily precede the latter as it is the latter who refers to the former. As we know, Pṛthvīdhāracārya came in the tradition of the Saṁkarācāryas. The manuscript of the *Bālārcanavidhi* in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[2] gives out the preceptorial lineage of the Śṛṅgerīmaṭha in this sequence—Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṁkaracārya, Pṛthvīdharācārya, Brahma Caitanya, Ānanda Caitanya etc. etc. Thus Pṛthvīdharācārya is placed next to the Śaṁkarācārya who is assigned to the 8th century.[3] As Śaṁkara died early, Pṛthvīdharācārya's period too falls in the vicinity of his predecessor's. Therefore his date cannot be stretched beyond the first quarter and, at any rate, the second quarter of the ninth century. Hence Śaṁbhunātha of Pṛthvīdharācārya transpires to be a contemporary of Śaṁkara. But Śaṁbhunātha, the teacher of Abhinava, cannot be put back beyond the first half of the century. In fact, in view of his being Abhinava's teacher, he need not be pushed back beyond the second quarter of the tenth century. Thirdly, Padmanābha the commentator of the *Bhuvaneśī stotra* interprets the word Varuṇālaya as standing for a village on the banks of

1. *C.G.C.*, Introduction (English). p. 3.
2. MS. No. 851. Referred to by Gopal Rai *Bakura*, the editor, *Bhuvaneśīmahāstotram*. Introduction, p. 13.
3. शंकराचार्यप्रादुर्भावस्तु विक्रमार्कसमयादतीते ८४५ पंचचत्वारिंशदधिकाष्टशतीमिते संवत्सरे (—782 A D) केरलदेशे कालपीग्रामे शिवगुरुशर्मणो भार्यायां समभवत् । *Ārṭa-vidyā-sudhākara*. 4th Chapter, pp. 226-27. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Narmadā[1] whereas Abhinava's teacher hailed from Jālandhar.[2] Moreover, it has also been noted that the upper limit of the *Stotra* cannot be extended beyond the latter half of the ninth century on the basis of the historical premises of the Krama system. In the wake of these discrepancies it is fraught with grave misgivings to identify the two Śaṁbhunāthas. It may, therefore, be firmly held that the two are two different persons and the editor of the *Gidgaganā candrikā* has been misled by the identity of names.

But the author of the *Cidgagana-candrikā* is perfectly right when he names one Siddhinātha to be the author of the Krama stotra. Fortunately, the name of one Siddhanātha in the annals of the Kashmir Śaīvism has come down to us and, for this, our thanks go to Bhaṭṭa Utpala whose *Spanda Pradīpikā* has proved to be a mine of information so far as the early phase of the Krama history is concerned. According to Bhaṭṭa Utpala, this Siddhanātha was the author of the work entitled *Abhedārtha Kārikā* from which a passage has also been cited.[3] Since Bhaṭṭa Utpala is a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇagupta, Siddhanātha may be said to have belonged to any generation earlier to Bhaṭṭa Utpala's. But we are not required to go back farther. Because according to the Krama tradition, recorded by Jayaratha and referred to earlier, Bhāskara, the teacher of Abhinava, is an immediate successor to the Stotrakāra. Hence Siddhanātha, who is now identified with the Stotrakāra, may in all probability have fiourished during the first half of the tenth

1. Vide करुणया युक्ते वरुणालये ग्रामविशेषे नर्मदानिकटवर्तिनि ।
Bālabodhinī on the *Bhuvaneśī-mahāstotram*, p. 25.

2. श्रीमान् शम्भुरिति प्रसिद्धिमगमज्जालन्धरात्पीठतः ।
T.A.V., I, p. 236.

3. प्रोक्तं चैतत् सिद्धनाथेन अभेदार्थकारिकासु-
वस्तुनो भावशून्यस्य त्वग्राह्यस्य निराकृतेः ।
कल्पनामात्रमेवैतत् यच्छिवव्यपदेशनम् ॥
नेत्थं विभोर्विवर्तोऽस्ति परिणामश्च न क्वचित् ।
अथवा द्वयमप्यस्तु तथाप्यस्य न खण्डना ॥ इति ।
Sp.P., p. 4.

century and be, therefore, placed somewhere during 900-950 A.D.

It is by a happy chance that the *Krama stotra*, almost complete, has survived to this date in the pages of the *Viveka* of Jayaratha.[1] In all about twelve verses are accessible. But the chances are that it contained a few verses more, because sometimes two verses instead of one were addressed to certain Kālīs, for instance, Rudrakālī and Yamakālī.[2] Coming to the contents of the *Krama stotra* we see that there was correspondence in the root idea between the *Krama stotra* and the *Pañcaśatika*, though they disagreed in one field. While the *Pañcaśatika* retained the name of Sukālī in the list of Kālīs to be adored and thus maintained the total number of Kālīs at thirteen[3] in Anākhyācakra, the Krama stotra excluded Sukālī and numbered them twelve. Jayaratha also pointed out a misunderstanding current in a section of the followers that the *Krama stotra* went by the *Krama Sadbhāva*[4] in its treatment of the Kālīs in Anākhyācakra. Jayaratha rejects any such possibility and holds, instead, that it did emulate some Āgama though quoted but not named by him.[5] It disagreed with the *Sārdaśatika* regarding the order of the Kālīs. While *Sārdhaśatika*, as elsewhere, discusses Sthitikālī after Sṛṣṭikālī, the *Krama stotra* first takes up Raktakālī in lieu of Sthitikālī. The primary object in doing so is to present the real Saṁvitkrama. No incongruity attaches to it. Since, in the Āgama the order is modified or reversed so as to conceal the Saṁvit-krama as is done in the *Pañcaśatika* with regard to the Sthitikrama. It is in sequel to this that the 'Order of Worship' (Pūjana-krama) is ordained by the teachers. With a view to effectively establishing and presenting the Saṁvit-

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1. Vide *T.A V.*, III, p. 158, 160, 165, 167, 169, 173, 178, 181, 183, 185, 187, 202.

   A collection of these verses with the Hindi translation has now been published by Sri Laksmana Joo under the caption "Krama-naya-Pradipika."

2. *Cf T.A. V.*, p. III, p. 202.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 190 191.
5. *Ibid.*, p 162.

krama the actual order of Kālīs has been preserved and retained in the *Krama stotra* as well as the *Tantrāloka*. Abhinava, according to Jayaratha, has stood by it in his *Kramakeli*.[1]

Jayaratha's presentation makes it well nigh certain that the *Krama stotra*, in his time, became vulnerable to two types of interpretation, one maintaining the number of Kālīs to be thirteen and the other twelve. Jayaratha has no sympathy with former group which had a different text or the reading of the Stotra together with a different arrangement of the verses, as is testified to by another commentary called *Vivaraṇa*. But possibly Jayaratha's group could not make much headway in appealing to the reason of the opponents as is evinced by the compromise formula evolved by Jayaratha that one should better go in for that reading which has the sanction and approval of one's preceptor.[2]

Abhinavagupta and Śivopādhyāya both have invited our attention to the metaphysical richness of the *Krama stotra*. Abhinava presents it as advocating the elimination of doubt, which as principle of limitation is the primal cause of mundane duality, for realizing the true self.[3] For Śivopādhyāya the central theme of the *Stotra* is to prevail upon one to attain the Ultimate Divinity which uproots the limitations accruing from time and space and finds own counterpart in the Prajñā-Pāramitā of Buddhism.[4]

(xvii) *Bhāskara* (925-975 A.D.)

From the point of view of his contribution there is apparently no valid ground for including Bhāskara in the list of

1. इह तु पूजाक्रमगोपनाय स्वशय्ययैव स्थापनम्, यदधिकृत्यसंवित्क्रमः परिनिष्ठितिमियात, अतएवागमैकशरणतया प्रवृत्तेऽपि श्रीक्रमस्तोत्रे ग्रन्थकृतां संवित्क्रममेव प्रदर्शयितुं तद्विवृतौ ···इत्याद्युक्तम् ॥

   T.A. V., III p. 162.

2. इत्येकतरपरिग्रहे यथा एवं गुरूपदेश एव निबन्धनम् ।

   T.A.V., III, p. 203

3. *P.T.V* , pp. 233-36

4. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात् अपादानत्वेन परैव देवी देशकालाकारावच्छेदविनाशिनी समालम्भनीया । एषैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता उच्यते ।

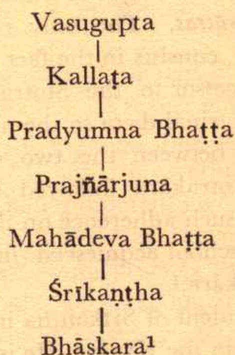
   V.Bh V., 140

the Krama authors. He is generally included among the authors of the Spanda branch, in the light of which he wrote his famous *Vārttika* on the *Śivasūtras*. The only reason for making a reference to him, here, consists in the fact that he is presented as the immediate successor to the Stotrakāra and as transmitting the latter's doctrinal dicta to the next generation. There was a doctrinal scuffle between the two opposite groups as to whether or not the Stotrakāra followed the *Krama-Sadbhāva*. Jayaratha rejects any such adherence on the part of the Stotrakāra, while the other school acquiesced into the giving out the tradition of the Stotrakāra.[1]

Bhāskara is a student of Śrīkaṇṭha in the Spanda branch[2] and of the Stotrakāra in the Krama. He is the son of Divākara as stated by him.[3] Abhinava's reference to one son of Divākara and author of the *Vivekāñjana* is meant for him.[4] Yogarāja also refers to a son of Divākara as the author of the *Kakṣyāstotra*.[5] A verse from this work has figured in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja.[6] Abhinava has generally referred to him as Bhaṭṭa Divākaravatsa.[7] These references indicate that Bhāskara was more popular as the son of Divākara than by his personal name. As Abhinava has frequently referred to him not only as Divākaravatsa but as Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara[8] also, he is supposed to be earlier than Abhinava. He is also included in the list of Abhinava's teachers.[9] On the other hand the ancestral tra-

1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न ग्राह्यम् यदाहुः—
श्रीक्रमसद्भावादिकशास्त्राशयतश्च पत्रिका अत्र ।
श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वासु संततिषु ॥
T.A.V., III, p. 191.
2. *S.S.V.* 1.8.
3. दैवाकरिर्भास्करोऽहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः ।
Ibid., 1.9.
4. यदाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सो विवेकाञ्जने ।
Bhas. (V), 1, p. 24.
5. यथाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सः...कक्ष्यास्तोत्रे ।
P.S.V., p. 103.
6. *Vide*, p. 86. Also see *I.P.V.V.*, II, pp. 301, 328; *S.P.V.*, p. 79.
7. *I.P.V.V.*, II, pp. 13, 14, 145; III, 388.
8. *Bhagvadgītārthasaṁgraha*, Chap. 18, p. 2.
9. *T.A.*, 37.62.

dition given by Bhāskara also places him approximately around the same period—



The four generations that intervened between Kallaṭa and him may account for a century's gap in between them. Thus he is an older contemporary, if not necessarily a predecesor, of Abhinava and may be assigned to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the tenth century.

Apart from three works enumerated above he is also credited with the authorship of two more works namely, the *Mīmāṃsā-saṁgraha-kaumudī* and *Padyāmṛtasopāna*. This suggestion is advanced by Natarajan in his valued thesis who has relied on the information supplied by the *Madhya-Yugīna-Caritrakośa*, p. 585. There is no evidence either to affirm or deny the statement.

Bhāskara is, however, most renowned for his *Vārttika* on the *Śivasūtras*. In this connection it is to be noted that not only his approach is different from Kṣemarāja's but even their versions of the text of the original *Śivasūtras* sometimes vary. Pt. M.S. Kaul, for instance, has called our attention to the following Sūtra which is found in the *Vārttika* but not in the *Vimarśinī* :

विसर्गस्वभाव्याद्बहिस्थितेस्तत्स्थितिः ।[2]

(xviii) *Lakṣmaṇagupta* (925-975 A.D.)

Lakṣmaṇagupta, the pupil of Utpala and grand pupil of

1. *S.S.V.*, 1.3-8.
2. *Short Review*, p. 12.

Somānanda, had equal command over Trika as well as Krama and was, therefore, Abhinava's teacher in both the systems.[1] Abhinava has never hesitated in recording his immense respect for his teacher whenever he could get an opportunity to do so.[2] Like his teachers', none of his works on Krama is accessible today, but there is a strong likelihood of his having written a Krama work so far as available evidence goes to show. Commenting on the word 'Anyathā' of *T.A.* 15.246, Jayaratha indicates that Lakṣmaṇagupta advocated a different type of Nyāsavidhi from one advanced by Śaṁbhunātha.[3] His main thesis is to analyse the six-fold Śākta-nyāsa, which again is one of the six original Nyāsas, in order to invoke and realize Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī.[4] This, as we know, is a typical Krama concept. From this one gets inclined to concede that he definitely wrote a few works. The only definite word in this behalf is met with in a statement where he is stated to have produced a work called "Śrīśāstra".[5] It seems improbable to make out anything definite out of such random and cryptic statements.

But there comes an incentive from another source to keep up optimism. The author of the *Śāradātilakatantra* calls him-

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1. श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणगुप्तदर्शितपथः श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाविधौ ।
I.P.V.V. I, p. 1, v. 2;
And vide श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।
T.A.V., III, p. 194.
2. *Bhās.* (V), I, opening verse 4; *Bhās.* (V), II, p. 8; *M.V.V.* 1.8; *T.A.*, 37.60; *T.A.* 1.11.
3. *Vide T.A.* 15. 244-254. *Vide* also शंभुनाथ इति श्रीलक्ष्मणगुप्तमते हि अन्यथा न्यासाविधिरित्याशयः ।
T.A.V., IX, p. 122.
4. ततस्त्वावाहयेच्छक्ति मातृसद्भावरूपिणीम् ।
योगेश्वरीं परां पूर्णां कालसंकर्षिणीं ध्रुवाम् ।
Ibid., 250-51.
5. श्रीशास्त्रकृद्घटितलक्ष्मणगुप्तपादसत्योपदर्शितशिवाद्वयवाददृप्तः ।
I.P.V.V., III, p. 406.

self Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra towards the end of the Tantra.[1] Contents of the work are not immediately relevant, because it is an esteemed text of the Tripurā sect. But what is remarkable is to find this author being presented as a student of Utpala by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Padārthādarśa* commentary.[2] Rāghava Bhaṭṭa places him on a high pedestal and gives further information that Lakṣmaṇa was the disciple of Utpala and his preceptorial line ran as under—Śrīkaṇṭha, Vasumán, Somānanda, Utpalācārya, Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja—among whom persons till Utpala were his teachers while others after him, his pupils.[3] Rāghava narrates the background episode of Lakṣmaṇagupta's undertaking to write the *Śāradātilaka.* Motivated by a sense of deep compassion he embarked upon producing a digest of entire āgamic thinking for its easy comprehension by the laity yearning for spiritual enlightenment but handicapped by its limited capacities of understanding.[4]

In the absence of any negative evidence one cannot discard Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's account as unauthentic, more so when it is endorsed by the author of the *Śāradātilaka* himself,[5] as has just been noted above. If, therefore, a suggestion is mooted

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1. आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जातः प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्रः ।
विद्यास्वशेषासु कलासु सर्वास्वपि प्रथां यो महतीं प्रपेदे ॥
आदाय सारमखिलं निखिलागमेभ्यः ।
श्रीशारदातिलकनाम चकार तन्त्रम् ॥
S.T.(*T.*), 86-87.

2. तत्रोत्पलाचार्यपूज्यपादशिष्यः श्रीलक्ष्मणाचार्यः...शारदातिलकं तन्त्रं चिकीर्षुः... मंगलम् ...उपनिबध्नन् आह ।
S.T.V., I, pp. 2-3.

3. गुरूनिति बहुवचनं पूजार्थं गुरु-परमगुरु-परापरगुरु-परमेष्ठिगुर्व्वपेक्षया वा तथा च गुरु-पंक्तिः—
श्रीकण्ठं वसुमन्तं श्रीसोमानन्दमुत्पलाचार्य्यान् इति ।
लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च इति तच्छिष्याः ॥
S.T.V. on *S.T.*(*T*). 1.3, p. 12.

4. *S.T.V.*, pp. 2-3.

5. Woodroffe accepts this account. Vide, *Śakti and Śākta*, pp. 56, 378. Also vide, *The Tantras, Studies on their Religion and Literature*, Chakravarti, p. 65.

out for identifying the *Śrī Śāstra* with the *Śāradātilaka* tantra, it must be conceded in the interest of logical consistency.

The account of Lakṣmaṇa's parentage also goes a long way to vouchsafe the veracity of the present thesis. At the end of the book he says that his father was Śrīkṛṣṇa, his grand-father Ācārya Paṇḍita and great-grand father Mahābala.[1] All of them, he says, were men of great piety and erudition and enjoyed great reputation for the same. Of all his ancestors, fortunately, Mahābala, his great-grand father, is known to us. He is the author of the *Rahasyagarbha-stotra* and also the great-grand father of Bhaṭṭa Utpala on the daughter's side.[2] Mahābala, as we have already noted during our study on Utpala and Somānanda, is a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and Somānanda. Lakṣmaṇagupta and Bhaṭṭa Utpala both being grandsons, one on the son's side and the other on the daughter's, of Mahābala are contemporaries and have blood affiliations. In the history of Kashmir Śaivism we have no other Lakṣmaṇa except one, the teacher of Abhinava, whose time exactly coincides with that of the author of the *Śāradātilaka Tantra*. Care has been taken to make it absolutely clear that Lakṣmaṇagupta was only a pupil and not a son of Utpala as has been made out in some scholarly circles.[3] Thus, one may be inclined to hold Lakṣmaṇagupta as identical with Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra and his *Śrīśāstra* with the *Śāradātilaka*. The name, *Śrī Śāstra*, too,

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1. महाबलाय प्रणतोऽस्मि तस्मै संविल्लतालिंगनशीतलाय ।
येनार्ऽपितं मुक्तिफलं विपक्वाम्नायशाखाभिरुपाश्रितेभ्य: ॥
तस्मादभूदखिलदेशिकवारणेन्द्र: षट्कर्मसागरविहारविनोदशील: ।
यस्य त्रिलोकविततं त्रिजयाभिधानमाचार्यपण्डित इति प्रथयन्ति सन्त: ॥
तन्नन्दनो देशिकदेशिकोऽभूच्छ्रीकृष्ण इत्यभ्युदितप्रभाव: ।
यत्पादकारुण्यसुधाभिषेकाल्लक्ष्मीं परामश्नुवते कृतार्था: ॥
आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जात: प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र: ॥
विद्यास्वशेषासु कलासु सर्वास्वपि प्रथां यो महतीं प्रपेदे ॥
S.T.(*T*). 25.83-86.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन...रहस्यस्तोत्रे ।
Sp.P., p. 3.

3. *Abhi.*, pp. 7, 164.

implies its automatic association to the Tripurā cult. To repeat, he was a disciple of Utpala and son of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He may, therefore, be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

(xix) *Bhaṭṭa Utpala* (925-975 A.D.)

He is an important author on the Spanda system of philosophy, but whatever glimpses one gets from his *Spanda-Pradipikā*, a commentary on the *Spanda Kārikās*, justifies this reference to him under the Krama context. These lines, however, are not addressed to a study of his individual Krama views, since the same have been subjected to elaborate treatment in their respective contexts in the philosophical section, but there is no gainsaying the fact that he was fully aware of the important Krama doctrines and tried to interpret the Spanda and Yoga concepts in the light of the Krama philosophy.[1]

Besides the *Spanda Pradīpikā*, his only extant work, he wrote one work called *Bhogamokṣa-pradipıkā*. It is not known whether it was also a commentary or an independent work. He has referred to it thrice[2] and in one of these extracts the Krama attitude is easily descernible.[3] In the two he deals with the rise of the Spanda principle[4] and Rahasya-mudrā evidently

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1. See, for instance, *Sp.P.*, pp. 48, 49, 50
2. Vide, *Sp.P.*, pp. 32, 49-50.
3. मयैव चोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—
अथवा विभागबोधज्वलनेन विलाप्य वेद्यपीयूषम् ।
पीत्वा तृप्तो विचरेन्नीरोगो योऽचिरात्सदैकाकी ॥
एतत्क्रमार्थसारं परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।
तदनुज्ञया च कथितं सच्छिष्यबोधनाय यथा ।
Ibid., pp. 49-50.
4. मयाप्युक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—
कामाख्ये विषतत्त्वे निरंजनाह्वे क्रमाच्च सिद्धिः स्यात् ।
सूर्ये सोमो हृदयात्तयोः शमाच्चेति शास्त्रसर्वस्वम् ॥ इति ।
एवं स्पन्दतत्त्वस्य उदयः प्रोक्तः ।
Ibid., p. 32.

under the influence of the 43rd Kārikā of the *Spanda Kārikā*.[1] We are however uncertain about the contents of this word and the system it subscribed to.

In addition he wrote several other work or works, passages from which have been cited by him without naming their source and have been ascribed to himself.[2] In all these extracts he has dwelt on the common tenets of the monistic Śaivism namely, the instrumentality of the objective world to the cause of emancipation, *a priori* unity of consciousness, and matchless superiority of the spiritual guide respectively.

He is different from his namesake predecessor, the teacher of Lakṣmaṇagupta, and in contrast to bare Utpala, is known as Bhaṭṭa Utpala or Utpala Vaiṣṇava. It has not been possible to trace out the origin or logic of his second epithet i.e., Vaiṣṇava. According to a modern scholar the *Spanda-pradīpikā* is a commentary on the *Spanda Kārikās* on Vaiṣṇava lines.[3] This might have been a probable source of his fame as "Vaiṣṇava". But even a superficial peep into its contents belies the above contention. It is a pure Spanda interpretation with occasional flashes about the cognate systems.

He hailed from a place called Nārāyaṇa in Kashmir and

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1. सैष तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रेत्युक्ता । मयोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—
उद्यन्तृता बलेन तु विकासवृत्त्या स्वरूपगस्तिष्ठेत् ।
स्वयमुपसृतेन्द्रियार्थानश्नन्नानन्दभूमिगो योगी ॥
एषोच्छृंखलरूपा विकस्वरतरा प्रबुद्धबुद्धीनाम् ।
सिद्धाः स्थिताः सदास्यां ह्यानन्दरताः परा च मुद्रैषा ॥
Ibid., p. 49.

2. (a) तथा मयाऽपि—
Sp. P., pp. 49-50.
(b) मयाप्युक्तं क्वापि—
Ibid., p. 39.
(c) मयैवोक्तं क्वापि—
Ibid, p. 54.

3. *Contribution.* (MS), p. 340.

was the son of some Trivikrama and Brāhmaṇa by caste.[1] Compassion on mankind and anxiety for his students' wellbeing were the chief motives that actuated him to take up the writing of *Spanda Pradipikā.* He was a great-grand-son of Mahābala whom he mentions as a maternal grand-father of his father.[2] Thus he occupies the same position in the daughter's hertiage of Mahābala which Lakṣmaṇagupta does in the filial lineage of Mahābala. His time, therefore, is almost definite and may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

(xx) *Bhūtirāja I* (900-950 A.D.)

Bhūtirāja is a very important name in the history of the Krama thought despite the unfortunate fact that none of his works is extant today. There are four Bhūtirājas that attract our notice in the whole range of the Kashmir Śaivism. The first happens to be a teacher of Abhinava in Brahmavidyā. The second is the father of Bhaṭṭa Indurāja. The third is the father of Helārāja, the illustrious commentator on the *Vākyapadīya.* And the fourth is a pupil of Cakrabhānu, a Krama celebrity, and who rather proved to be the focal point of a heated controversy in Jayaratha's time.

We are presently concerned with the number one Bhūtirāja because, while quoting him in the Krama context, Abhinava refers to him as his teacher.[3] But there should be no misunderstanding, he did not teach the Krama system to Abhinava. The subjects in which he imparted lessons to Abhi-

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1. (a) नारायणस्थानसंस्थद्विजवर्यत्रिविक्रमात् ।
जातो जनानुग्रहार्थं व्याख्याति स्पन्दमुत्पलः ।
Sp.P., p. 1., v. 6.
(b) नारायणस्थानज उत्पलाख्यस्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽग्र्यजन्मा ।
यस्तेन सच्छिष्यहिताय हृष्टा मयैषा च तमोनुदे स्यात् ॥
S.P., Concluding Verse 4.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन ।
Ibid., p. 3.

3. यदाहु: भूतिराजगुरवः ।
T.S., p. 30.

nava were Brahmavidyā[1] and Śaṁbhu Śāstra.[2] Jayaratha has taken extra pains to clear out the misgiving that Bhūtirāja ever taught Abhinava the Krama system. Jayaratha explicitly admits that Bhūtirāja was a teacher of Abhinava but what he objects to is that the Krama system or any text pertaining to Krama e.g., the *Devīpañcaśatika*, was not his specific field of instruction.[3] But at the same time, he did make some solid contribution to the Krama system in his own right which is borne out by the two extracts attributed to him. In one he derives the word Kālī from the root Kalana meaning Kṣepa and Jñāna[4] and in the other he asserts the sameness of Mantra with the transcendental principle of Awareness owing to its all-encompassing capacity.[5] Besides the above two sciences, he also initiated Abhinava in three mystic disciplines[6] pertaining to Praṇava Māyā and Bindu.[7] He also entertained definite views of his own regarding Bhuvanādhvan[8] and Pratiṣṭhā Kalā.[9]

Abhinava had an extremely high sense of respect for his, teacher so that he respected his teacher more than his father.[10]

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1. अथोच्यते ब्रह्मविद्या सद्यः प्रत्ययदायिनी ।
शिवः श्रीभूतिराजो यामस्म्यम् प्रत्यपादयत् ॥
T.A., 30.62-63.
2. श्रीभूतिराजवदनोदितशंभुशास्त्रतत्त्वांशुशातितसमस्तभवान्धकारः ।
I.P.V.V., III, p. 405.
3. न तत्राप्यस्य श्रीभूतिराजो गुरुत्वेन स्थितः, न च 'असावप्यस्य न गुरुः' यद्वक्ष्यति "अथोच्यते···"
T.A.V., III, p. 194.
4. यदाहुः श्रीभूतिराजगुरवः क्षेपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतयाथ...। इति ।
T.S., p. 30.
5. श्रीक्रमकेलौ च···भट्टश्रीभूतिराजेनाप्युक्तं—'सर्वंक्रोडीकारेण स्थितत्वाद् देव्येव मन्त्रः' इति ।
M.M.P., p. 127.
6. एतद्विद्यात्रयम् श्रीमान् भूतिराजो न्यरूपयत् ।
T.A., 30.120.
7. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 216.
8. *T.A.*, 8.265.
9. *Ibid.*, 410.
10. ततो गुरुतरः श्रीमान् भूतिराजो महामतिः ।
M.V.V., 1.6.

He looked upon him (Bhūtirāja) as the Lord-incarnate himself in a human frame.[1] Perhaps barring the teachers of the four main schools (Maṭhikās), nobody else has won so much praise at the hands of Abhinava as Bhūtirāja. Jayaratha had to justify the mention of Bhūtirāja's name by Abhinava in the *Tantrāloka*[2] while paying obeisance to his teachers, as the *Tantrāloka* having a defined aim and scope need not refer to persons from the outer circles.[3]

Bhūtirāja, by dint of being Abhinava's teacher, may be bracketed with his other teachers and therefore may be said to have belonged to the previous generation of Abhinava. But his date may be pushed a little earlier, because Abhinava was not a student of Bhūtirāja alone but of his son as well.[4] Hence he must have been of fairly old age when Abhinava approached him. He may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the tenth century. He is also identical with the Bhūtirāja Number Two who has been referred to as father of Bhaṭṭendurāja who, in addition to Dhvaniśāstra, initiated Abhinava in the mysteries of the *Gītā*.

The genealogy of Indurāja given by Abhinava in the concluding portion of his *Bhagvadgītārtha-saṁgraha* is self-explanatory. The same is reproduced below :

Kātyāyana
|
Sauśuka
|
Bhūtirāja
|
Bhaṭṭendurāja[5]

In this connection the issue of the third Bhūtirāja may also be taken up, who is identified with the father of Helārāja.

1. यः साक्षादभजच्छ्रीकण्ठो मानुषीं तनुम् ।
T.A. 30.121.
2. *T.A*, 1.9.
3. *T.A.V.*, I, p. 29.
4. श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥
T.A., 37.60.
5. *Bh.G.S.*, p. 186, also see *Abhi.*, p 214.

According to Pandey, and there is no reason to dispute him, Bhūtirāja in question is identical with this Bhūtirāja also. Because Helārāja, in the colophon to each section of his commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, regularly refers to himself as the son of Bhūtirāja (Bhūtirājatanaya).[1] Abhinava has included one Bhūtirājatanaya whom he does not name among his teachers.[2] He came in the lineage of Śrīnātha, the first exponent of dualistic philosophy, and was possibly taught by his father. By implication, he educated Abhinava in the dualistic Śaivism. The two Bhūtirājas may be identified since,

(i) Abhinava does not refer to his teacher in Śaiva dualism by name but by his parental description i.e., Bhūtirājatanaya,

(ii) Except Helārāja nobody else refers to himself as Bhūtirājatanaya,

(iii) Abhinava evinces great familiarity with Bhartṛhari's system as presented by Helārāja specially in respect of the Kālaśakti that acted as harbinger of the Krama concept of Kālī.

If that be so, the two Bhūtirājas, too, become one and Indurāja and Helārāja happen to be brothers, one shining as the literary critic and the other as a philosopher.

In this connection attention may be drawn to a reference by Śitikaṇṭha to some Dūtirājatanaya who, in spite of his not belonging to the Krama system, had inherited different versions regarding the Yuganāthas and tried to thrust them on the Krama system proper.[3] Śitikaṇṭha has criticised such behaviour. Our contention is that this Dūtirājatanaya is none else than Bhūtirājatanaya. 'Dū' and 'Bhū' in hastily written Sāradā characters are difficult to distinguish, hence the scribal mistake. This is borne out further by the fact that Bhūtirājatanaya is shown as adept in the Dualistic Śaivism. Here too Dū (?Bhū)ti-

1. भूतिराजतनये हेलाराजकृते ।
2. श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरधर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥

T.A., 37.60.

3. यस्तु पीठपारम्पर्येण पत्रिकाभेदो दूतिराजतनयपर्यन्तो युगनाथानां दृश्यते स कथमपि सामंजस्यं नोपयाति ।

M.P.(*S*), p. 115.

rājatanaya is an outsider in the Krama fold. We may, therefore, possibly identify the two.

Coming to the fourth Bhūtirāja we find that he is a different person altogether. Because this Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, could not have been Abhinava's teacher. For the simple reason that Cakrabhānu, as will be seen in the sequel, is historically posterior (i.e., circa 1050-1100 A.D.) to Abhinavagupta. Hence to say that his pupil (circa 1075-1125 A.D.) was a teacher of Abhinava would be a historical absurdity.[1] Moreover, the method of worship advocated by this Bhūtirāja is said to be based on the *Pañcaśatika*, according to which the number of deities to be worshipped is not twelve. It, therefore, seems logically incongruous to treat Bhūtirāja, a spokesman of the not-twelve doctrine, as a teacher of Abhinava, a staunch protagonist of the twelve-deity doctrine.[2] Thus these two Bhūtirājas seem to be two different personalities, though l oth having definite relationship with the Krama system.

(xxi) *Kuladhara* (950-1000 A.D.)

We know nothing about him except that he directly came into the line of the Stotrakāra after Bhāskara.[3] He, therefore, appears to be a contemporary of Abhinavagupta.

(xxii) *Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara* (950-1000 A.D.)

He seems to be a minor Krama author and is said to have composed certain Muktakas (independent verses). He has been referred to only once by Kṣemarāja[4] and no other reference,

1. अतश्चास्य एवं गुरुक्रममजानानैरद्यतनैः—
श्रीभूतिराजनामाप्याचार्यश्चक्रभानुशिष्योऽन्यः ।
अभिनवगुप्तस्य ग ुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुरुता ॥
इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत् स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव इत्युपेक्ष्यम् ।
T.A.V., III, p. 193.

2. तत्रापि चात्र श्रीभूतिराजस्यान्यथापूजाक्रम इति देवीपंचशताशयमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भवद्भिरेवोक्तम्, अथात्र द्वादशैव देव्यः पूज्यतया स्थिताः इत्यभिप्रेतं भवतः तर्हि श्रीपंचशतिकार्थमपि न जानीषे ।
Ibid., p. 194.

3. *Ibid.*; p. 191.

4. तथा च उक्तं सहजचमत्कारपरिजनिताकृतकादरेण भट्टदामोदरेण विमुक्तकेषु—
P.Hr., p. 70.

either before or after Kṣemarāja, appears to have been made by any author to him. The guess that he devoted a few verses to Krama is based on the circumstantial and contextual evidence because the verse ascribed to him[1] deals with the Pañcavāha, a typical Krama phenomenon, and is quoted in the same context in particular and under Śāktopāya in general. He has been commended for his intuitive realisation of the Supreme Bliss. Since he has not been noticed by any author before Kṣemarāja, he might have belonged to the latter's preceding generation. Hence, it is possible he might be a contemporary of Abhinava (950-1020 A.D.). He is different from Dāmodaragupta, the author of the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* and a minister of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). He is also different from one Dāmodara who was a contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.) and has been mentioned as such,[2] whereas the present author comes prior to Kṣemarāja (975-1025 A.D.).

(xxiii) *Abhinavagupta* (950-1020 A.D.)

The personality as well as the volume and scope of Abhinava's contribution is so rich, enormous and extensive that we propose to confine ourselves strictly to his contribution in the field of Krama alone. Exception will be made only when some new information is intended to be furnished.

According to all available accounts, Abhinava was not his actual name but a title conferred on him by his teachers in recognition of his extraordinary calibre and outstanding intellectual accomplishment.[3] He was also called Bāla-valabhībhu-

1. पूर्णाविच्छिन्नमात्रान्ततर्बहिष्करणभावगाः ।
वामेशाद्याः परिज्ञानात् स्युर्मुक्तिबन्धदाः ॥
Ibid., pp. 70-71.

2. सूक्तिभूरिगुणानर्घमश्लाघत स वीप्सया ।
दामोदरं तदासीददादरप्रह्वकन्धरः ॥
S.K.C., 25.68.

3. अभिनवगुप्तस्य कृतिः सेयं यस्योदिता गुरुभिराख्या।
त्रिनयनचरणसरोरुहचिन्तनलब्धप्रसिद्धिरिति ।
T.A., 1, 20.

···स्पष्टेन चाभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः ।
I.P.V.V., III, p. 406.

jaṅga.[1] Abhinava possibly knew the immense value of furnishing historical data in respect of an epoch-making personality. It is why Abhinava's date, span of creative life etc., do not pose problems. To begin with, he has given the dates of composition in the case of his three works. The *Kramastotra*[2] was composed during 990-991 A.D. (4066 Saptarṣi Era), the *Bhairavastotra* during 992-993 A.D. (4068 S.E.)[3] and the *Bṛhatī Vimarśinī* during 1014-15 (4090 S.E.).[4] Thus the whole period of his literary activity, giving a margin of five years on each side for other possible undertakings, appears to have been spread over a period from 985 to 1020 A.D. In view of his vast erudition acquired through personal approaches to almost every teacher in all the then possible branches of learning, if he is allowed a preparatory period to thirty to thirtyfive years before he could embark upon writing, he may be said to have flourished and lived during 950-1020 A.D. One will arrive at approximately similar dates from a different source as well. Karṇa, one of his favoured students, was the grandson of Vallabha, the court-minister of King Yaśaskara, who definitely reigned in the year 939 A.D.[5] It is a strange coincidence that Pūrṇa Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, was a colleague of Vallabha in the court of the same king.[6] Vallabha's son Śauri (who was also a minister) and daughter-in-law Vatsalikā[7] were Abhinava's contemporaries and the latter was looked after by Vatsalikā when he was engaged in writing his *Tantrāloka*.[8] In addition, Yogeśvaridatta, the son of Karṇa, came of age and displayed merits equal to his name before the eyes of Abhinava.[9] Thus

1. भवदेव: स्वकृते तौतातिमततिलके मामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचम् । दर्शिस्वप्ने । बालवलभी-भुजंगापरनामा त्वमसि भवदेव ।
   Quoted from an unspecified source, *Contribution*, p. 342.
2. *K.S.*(A), 30.
3. *Bhairava Stotra*, verse no. 10.
4. *I.P.V.V.*, III, p. 407.
5. *P.T.V.*, p. 279; *T.A.*, 37.65.
6. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 430.
7. *P.T.V.*, p. 279; *A.A.*, 37.73, 75.
8. *T.A.*, 37.82.
9. *T.A.*, 37.76.

Abhinava belonged to the generation next to king Yaśaskara's and continued to live for another two generations. Even on this calculation his probable time remains almost the same as above.

In all about fortyfour works, both major and minor, are ascribed to him [1] and twentythree of these have been published till now. But this list does not include three other minor Stotra works[2] attributed to him namely, *Amareśvarastotra* [3] *Devībhujaṅga*[4] and *Śivastotra*.[5] The *Tantroccaya* which figures in the above list, like the *Tantra-vaṭa dhāntkā*, is a summary of the *Tantrāloka*. A manuscript of it is available in the Tagore Library of the Lucknow University.[6] Of all the five pages and nine folios, six folios contain Sūtras and the rest verses. But the whole thing is so haphazard, and style and method so shabby that it raises serious doubts about its being a work from the pen of Abhinava. Besides, Abhinava refers to one *Ślokavārttika* in the *Tantrasāra*.[7] It is uncertain whether this is identical with the famous Mīmāṁsā text of the same name by Kumārila. But the way Abhinava refers to it and the context in which it finds a place, make it quite probable that Abhinava might have attempted a work under this name. Or else it might be another name of the *Mālinī-vijayavārttika*. The evidence in hand, how-

1. See *Abhi,*, pp. 26-27; *Contribution*, pp. 342-44.
2. *The Works of Abhinavagupta*, *J.O.R.I.*, XIV-IV, pp. 318-28.
3. R.A. Sastri refers in his "Diary" to this Stotra which is in the personal library of Pt. Ram Jiva Kokil, Banmahal, Kashmir, *Ibid*.
4. It is in the library of Vishvabharti, Shantiniketan, *Ibid*.
5. The following portion from the letter no 125/R addressed to the present author from the Dy. Director, Research Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government is self-explanatory—"However it is to inform you that the Śivastotram by Abhinavagupta is available with Pt. Lambodar Razdan, 5/o R.N. Temple, Srinagar". We unsuccessfully tried our best to contact Pt. Razdan.
6. Accession No. 45827 and Catalogue no. RS 180.414/A174T.
7. एतदेव अवस्थाचतुष्टयं पिण्डस्थपदस्थरूपस्थरूपातीतशब्दैर्योगिनो व्यवहरन्ति, प्रसंख्यानधनास्तु सर्वतोभद्रं व्याप्तिः महाव्याप्तिः प्रचय इति शब्दैः । अन्वर्थं चात्र दर्शितं तन्त्रालोके श्लोकवार्तिके च ।

T.S., p. 107.

ever, is not conclusive to indicate anything definitely. Jayaratha also appears to attribute to him one work named *Anupratyabhijñā* and cites a passage from the same [1] Here again one is totally ignorant if it was another name of certain work among the known works or an original one by itself, or a work by his pen at all. Yet it is difficult to say that all these works, enumerated or alluded to above, exhaust the total expanse of his literary activity. The profuse and frequent references to and extracts from Abhinava[2] hint at his having written infinitely more than is known today. The MS of the *Sārikā-nityapūjā-paddhati* contains a few verses that are ascribed to Abhinavagupta by the colophon.[3-4] At least in one field, that is, Stotras, one may feel absolutely certain that he penned many that have not come down to us. His and his successors' own statements bear the palm of this contention.[5] Similarly he wrote a commentary, called the *Tattvaviveka,* on the *Trikasūtra* which was later embodied in his Vivaraṇa on the *Parātriṁśikā.*[6]

Raniero Gnoli, an Italian scholar of Śaivism, has called our attention to yet another five unpublished verses of Abhinava-

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1. अनुप्रत्यभिज्ञाकृताप्यनेनैवाभिप्रायेण
   नाथ त्वया विना बिम्बं स्वच्छे स्वात्मनि दर्शितम् ।
   प्रसेना दर्पणेनैव प्रभावाद्भावमण्डलम् ॥
   इत्याद्युक्तम् ।
   T.A.V., p. 73.
2. *Vide*, for instance, *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa-ṭīkā*, pp. 12, 26, 31, 73.

3-4. दत्तो मूर्धनि लीलयैव चरणः संसारनाम्नो रिपोः
   पीतं सर्वरसातिशायि भरितं ज्ञानौघधारामृतम् ।
   भातः स्वात्ममहेश्वरः किमपरं सम्पूर्णसर्वाशिषाम्
   कायो भ्रश्यतु नश्यतु श्रयतु वा स्थैर्यं नोऽत्रग्रहः ॥···इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यानाम् ।
   MS. No. 5727, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, (Tantras), p. 568.
   For other verses see MS. No. RS 180. 4/A14B, Accesion No. 45723, Lucknow University Library. These verses are bound together with the *Praṇava-bāla-bodhini* of Śaṁkaracārya.

5. *Vide*, *Bh.G.S*,, 12.6.8; *T.A.* 26.63-65; *P.T.V.*, pp, 22, 59, 163, 198, 223; *Dh.L.*, pp. 197, 397; *Bhās.* (V), I, p. 42; *St.C.*, V., p. 112; *P.S.V.*, p. 112.
6. *Vide Contribution*, p. 347. But no textual authority could be traced in support of this statement.

gupta.[1] According to the colophon of the MS there should be two verses[2] instead of five as available. As to the possibility of their having been composed by two authors—the first three verses by some unknown author and the remaining two by Abhinavagupta—, Gnoli is inclined to believe that they are all by Abhinavagupta since "Nothing in the style or contents however forbids us from attributing them to Abhinavagupta."[3] A manuscript of the same is preserved in the Bhandarkar Institute[4] which has not been consulted by Gnoli as per his own statement. A final judgement on his findings can only be pronounced after looking into the said manuscript.

Let us revert to the Krama system. The system has profited by him in at least four positive ways—firstly, as an indispensable respository of tradition and thought; secondly, as a sourcebook of authors and their works preceding him; thirdly, as a commentator on the few important Krama texts; and finally, as an original thinker of enviable value who fostered the thought with a critical analysis and insight. But for him, we, today, would have missed the richness of the entire traditional intellectual development.[5] He assimilated the tradition and then enriched it by exposition and embellishment. In the history of the Krama thought only two names can be cited to match him in the enormity of historical allusions. They are Jayaratha, his own commentator, and Maheśvarānanda. But for Abhinava's *Kramakeli* the early history of the system would have remained the "pre-history" for a modern student. As a commentator he has produced the *Kramakeli* on the *Kramastotra*

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1. Vide *Miscellanea Indica*, (2. Five Unpublished Stanzas of Abhinavagupta), pp. 222-23.

   The MS., according to Gnoli, belongs to a private collection, details of which have not been furnished. *Vide*, p. 216.

2. श्लोकद्वयीयम् अभिनवगुप्तपादानाम् ।

   Ibid., p. 223.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

4. See *Bühler*, No. 474.

5. शास्त्रमस्मद्गुरुगृहे संप्रदायक्रमात् स्थितम् ।

   M.V.V., 1.394..

(of Siddhanātha). His other commentary *Vivaraṇa* is an exposition of his own *Prakaraṇa Stotra*. The *Tantrāloka*, *Krama Stotra*, *Prakaraṇa Stotra* and *Tantrasāra* are his original contributions to the system. The *Tantrāloka* covers a vast expanse and, in its massive efforts to preserve and present the Kashmir Śaiva thought in its fullness, deals with the Krama dicta and theses to almost perfection. The *Tantrasāra* tries to do the same in brief. His Krama works will be taken up for a fuller treatment.

When he diverted his attention from literature to the study of Saiva monism, Krama was his first love in philosophy. The earliest date of the *Krama Stotra* bears ample testimony to it. The first verse of the *Krama Stotra* makes it obvious that he was restless and had no peace of mind before he turned to Krama.[1] Abhinava attained his proficiency in Kramic experiments and went very far in realizing the true spirit of the system. He himself affirms it.[2] Apart from his specific Krama treatises, there are certain other texts namely, the *Mālinīvijaya-vārttika*, *Paryanta Pañcāśikā* and *Parātriṁśikā-vivaraṇa* wherein he occasionally dwells on the Krama tenets at length. Among his Krama works, the *Krama Stotra* is his first contribution in the chronological order as its earliest date would vindicate.[3] After ventilation of his views about the nature and purpose of devotional prayer, the *Stotra* grows through four stages viz., (i) the background of the Kramic emanation, (ii) rise and emergence of Kramic evolution through twelve Kālikās, (iii) repose of Krama in the Absolute, and (iv) the epilogue invoking the Godhead's grace

1. अयं दुःखव्रातव्रतपरिगमे पारणविधिः
महासौख्यासारप्रसरणरसे दुर्दिनमिदम् ।
यदन्यन्न्यक्कृत्या विषमविशिखप्लोषणगुरोः
विभोः स्तोत्रे शश्वत्प्रतिफलति चेतो गतभयम् ॥
K.S.(*A*). 1.

2. अलं वातिप्रसंगेन भूयसातिप्रपंचिते ।
योग्योऽभिनवगुप्तोऽस्मिन्कोऽपि यागविधौ बुधः ।
T.A., 4.278.

3. षट्षष्ठिनामके वर्षे नवम्यामसितेऽहनि ।
यथाऽभिनवगुप्तेन मार्गशीर्षे स्तुतः शिवः ॥
K.S., 30.

on humanity. The order in which the various stages i.e., Kālīs, succeed each other is in consonance with the metaphysical aspect (Saṁvit-krama) of it and not with the ritualistic one (Pūjana-krama). The ante-penultimate verse indicates Abhinava's unmistakable adherence to the school that held Śiva as the ultimate reality.[1] The *Prakaraṇa Stotra* is known today only from a reference to it by Abhinava in the *Tantrasāra*.[2] Its chief purpose was to dwell on the concept of Kālī with an accent upon its etymological implications. The *Prakaraṇa Vivaraṇa*[3] was in all probability a commentary by Abhinava himself on the said *Stotra*. Both of these works were intended to cover in detail the nature of the dynamic Absolutism and its *modus operandi* echoing the manifold derivative significance of the word 'Kalana.' A word of caution may be added. Abhinava does not give out the name of this text as the *Prakaraṇa Vivaraṇa*. He simply says *Vivaraṇa*. It is not known whether he meant by it the *Krama-keli*, a commentary on the *Krama Stotra*, or an independent commentary on the *Prakaraṇastotra* itself. In such a fluid state of affairs one has to base one's hypothesis on the contextual evidence and should press it only to that extent, no further. In this connection, it may be noted that he wrote another work called the *Prakīrṇaka-vivaraṇa*.[4] It is yet hypothetical to say that the two were identical Dr. Pandey appears to take them as two separate works.[5] Nagarajan follows Dr. Pandey.[6] But on a close perusal

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1. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ता: ।
तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्थानसंज्ञं जगदेकसारम् ॥

K.S. (A). 28.

2-3. यदाहु: श्रीभूतिराजगुरव: ''क्षेपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतयार्थे'' इति । एष च अर्थ: तत्र तत्र मद्विरचिते विवरणे प्रकरणादौ वितत्य वीक्ष्य: ।

T.S., pp. 30-31.

4. इत्थं जडेन सम्बन्धे न मुख्या ण्यर्थसंगति: ।
आस्तामन्यत्र विततमेतद्विस्तरतो मया ॥

T.A., 10.44.

Jayaratha explains the word 'Anyatra' thus--
अन्यत्रेति प्रकीर्णकविवरणादी ।

T.A.V., VII, p. 33.

5. *Vide Abhi.*, pp. 28 38.
6. *Contribution*, p. 356.

their difference does not remain tenable. According to Nagarajan[1] it is a grammatico-philosophical work. If one accepts this contention, which one should, their distance vanishes. Because even the two contexts resemble each other in the respect that the books in question are purported to answer the grammatical and derivational requirements and analyse ensuing implications of the philosophical concepts. Let us, however, await the verdict of future investigation on it. The single work called *Tantrāloka* is sufficient to make him the doyen of the monistic philosophers of Kashmir. For fear of repetition no reference is being made to its varied contents. However, Āhnikas 4, 13, 31 and 32 specially deal with the Krama system while Āhnikas 1, 3, 9, 15 and 30 contain brief but useful information about Krama. The *Tantrasāra* is an abridged *Tantrāloka*. Its Āhnikas 4 and 13 are particularly relevant. The former presents a masterly epitome of the Krama ideals. The *Kramakeli*[2] is an important Krama text. Although it is a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* of an earlier author, it speaks of the originality and vast comprehension of its author's mind. At present our knowledge is limited to references only made by himself,[3] Kṣemarāja,[4]

1. *Ibid*.
2. While in Kashmir (1963 Summer) we made an extensive search to trace out its manuscript. We were told by Pt. D.N. Yaksa of the Sanskrit Section of Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar that a MS of the *Kramakeli* was available with Mr. Somanatha Razdan of Purshiar, Aba Kadal (2nd bridge), Srinagar, but it was difficult to procure from him. The personal meeting with the gentleman resulted in the impression that he had inherited a large treasure of rare MSS from his grandfather, an avowed Sanskritist. But he could not be persuaded even to allow us to have a look of the text, not to talk of parting with it. Even the monetary temptations failed. On a later date Prof. B N. Pandit of Khannabal informed us that he knew of one MS of the *Kramakeli* in possession of a person whom he knew. But his efforts, too, were doomed to failure.
3. व्याख्यातं चैतन्मया तट्टीकायामेव क्रमकेलौ विस्तरतः ।
   P.T.V., p. 236.
4. यथोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः क्रमकेलौ —
   श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि गतोग्रकाली
   भीमोत्कटभ्रुकुटिरेष्यति भंगभूमिः ॥
   S.St.V., p. 159.

Jayaratha[1] and Maheśvarānanda.[2] The only thing worthy of note is that it was also liable to two sorts of interpretation with regard to its stand about the full-size controversy on the correct number of Kālīs. Jayaratha is very insistent that the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanātha), and for that matter Abhinava, did not budge an inch from the twelve-kālī theory.[3] But on the other hand, Maheśvarānanda tends to show him as supporting thirteen-kālī theory.[4] Nevertheless, so far as the question of interpreting Abhinava is concerned, it is more advisable to abide by Jayaratha not only because of his *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka*, but also because of his claim that he was in possession of the original tradition which started with Śivānanda and was actuated by Abhinavagupta.

A brief explanation would perhaps be necessary for exclusion of the *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* from amongst the Krama works, since the same has been taken as a Krama text by some authors.[5] The stotra, in question, eulogizes the physical body as an abode of spirituality, and each constituent organ of the body has a particular divinity stationed in it. This theme is taken to be a particular aspect of the Krama system. In fact, the things do not appear to be so. This is a general feature of the Kashmir Saivism and consequently all the systems comprising it share this notion [6] Hence it has not been considered to be a Krama work.

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1. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 162, 191.
2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 104, 106, 127, 156, 178, 179, 190, 192. For the English rendering of these extracts see *Abhi.*, pp. 482-84.
3. एवं क्रमकेलावप्येतद्गर्भीकारेण यदनेन ग्रन्थकृता व्याख्यातं तत्रापि अन्यथा न किंचित् संभाव्यम् ।

   T.A.V., III, p. 191.
4. ताश्च इहैकैकत्र सृष्ट्यादौ चक्ररूपता विद्यते इति श्रीक्रमकेलिक्लृप्तया...इति द्वादशानामिन्द्रियस्फुरत्तानाम् 'अनाख्याभासयोरत्र नोपदिष्टः पृथङ्मनुः' इति स्थित्या सर्वानुस्यूतया तुरीयसम्मिलतया भासाभट्टारिकया त्रयोदशीभूतया परिस्पन्दतयाध्यवसीयते ।

   M.M.P., p. 104.
5. *Vide Abhi.*, p. 485.
6. It may, further, be noted that such a theory in particular may be associated with the Kula system. *Cf. N.T.* 12.1-4; *T.A.V.*, I, p. 23.

(xxiv) *Kṣemaraja* (975-1125 A.D.)

An illustrious student of an illustrious teacher, Kṣemarāja may be ascribed to the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. He was both Abhinava's cousin and a pupil.[1] Of all Abhinava's students he is the only figure who is mentioned by name by Madhurāja Yogin in his *Gurunātha-parāmarśa*.[2] After an examination of the available data, Dr. Pandey has established Vāmadeva, Abhinava's uncle, to be his father.[3] Among his own pupils he mentions, *inter alia*, Śūra or Śūrāditya, son of Gunāditya, for whose enlightenment most of his works were written.[4] Among others he includes Śrīrāma, Raktika Bhaṭṭa, Gargeśa with particular reference to the *Netra Tantra*,[5] and Keśava. Besides Abhinava he mentions Prayāga as his teacher [6] There were probably a few more teachers according to a hint thrown by himself. Accordingly Śaṅkarājñādhara was also probably his teacher.[7]

The present enquiry is concerned with Kṣemarāja as an eminent post-Abhinava Krama thinker. He seems to have profound knowledge of the system and in his *Uddyota* on the *Netra*

1. *V'de T.A.*, 37.67.
2. आसीनः क्षेमराजप्रभृतिभिरखिलैः सेवितः शिष्यवर्गैः ।

   Verse No. 4.
3. *Abhinava*, p. 254.
4. *St.C.V.*, p. 130; *N.T U.*, II, p. 343; *Sp.N.*, p. 77.
5. *N.T.U.*, II, p. 343—

   संसाररिपुनिर्माथिशूरः शूरसमाश्रयः ।
   श्रीरामादिगुरुग्रामस्तथान्तेवासिनोऽपरे ॥
   भट्टरक्तिकगर्भेशकेशवाद्या इहार्थनाम् ।
   अकार्षुर्मे ततः किंचिदिदमुद्योतितं मया ॥
6. श्रीब्रह्मदेवादिगुरुक्रमाद्यः श्रुत्वा गिरं व्याकृतवान्स्वतन्त्रम् ।
   श्रीमान्प्रयागो गुरवस्तथान्ये तेऽभ्यर्थनायां पुनरप्रवृत्तौ ।

   Sv.T.V., VI. (15th Paṭala), p. 146.
7. उद्योतेऽत्र तमामृशन्तु गुरवः श्रीशंकराज्ञाधराः...... ।

   Ibid., II, p. 332.

   This line may also be construed to mean that Śaṅkara and Ājñādhara both were his teachers. In this case there would be two persons instead of one as suggested above.

Tantra he refers to Krama as a distinct system.[1] In fact it is to single out even a small work except the *Vṛtti* on the *Stava-cintāmaṇi* from his printed works in which he has not specifically referred to the Krama or Mahārtha system. In his *Uddyota* on the *Svacchanda Tantra* he does the same.[2] The *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*[3] and *Śiva-stotrāvalīvivṛti*[4] abound in references to Krama. Likewise, his commentary on the *Śiva-sūtras* called *Vimarśinī*[5] and those on the *Spanda-kārikās* known as *Spanda-saṁdoha*[6] (on the first Sp. K. alone) and *Spanda-nirṇaya*[7] are no exception to the rule. His attachment to the system appears to be so deep that he spares no opportunity to elucidate, present or expound the Krama tenets. He even goes to the length of interpreting the entire Spanda philosophy in terms of Krama.[8] His own pronouncements make it sure that he planned and achieved this on conscious level. In addition, he also commented upon certain sūtras from the *Krama-sūtras* by some earlier authority.[9] This incidence has prompted scholars to credit him with the authorship of a *Tīkā* on the *Krama-sūtras*.[10] However, the bulk of available material fails to substantiate it conclusively. Because

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1. अतश्च अयं प्रणवादिसाधारणमन्त्रान्तराणां क्रमकुलमतषडर्धादिविशेषमंत्राणामपि च वाचकत्वात् ।

   M.T.U., II, p. 11.
2. *Sv.T.V.*, I, p. 11.
3. *Vide* pp. 58-59, 64-66, 69-71, 77-78, 81, 85-86, 92-94, 101-02, etc.
4. *Vide* pp. 32, 48, 55, 106, 140, 159, 199, 206, 340, 346 etc.
5. The 2nd chapter deals with Śāktopāya which is identical with the Krama system, vide pp. 20-23.
6. *Vide* pp. 8, 11-12, 16, 19-22.
7. *Vide* pp. 6-7, 20, 38, 42, 49, 62, 74.
8. एवम्...प्रथमचरमसूत्राभ्यां महार्थतत्त्वम्...इति स्पन्दतत्त्वेनैव विश्वोपदेशाः स्वीकृताः ।

   Sp.N., p. 49.

   एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकरोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

   Ibid., p. 74.
9. तदुक्तं पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

   P.Hr., p. 77.

   यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु...। अत्रायमर्थः ।

   Ibid., pp. 99-100.
10. *Abhi.*, pp. 256-57, 485-86.

nowhere—neither in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* where a reference has been made to the two sūtras of the *Krama-sūtras* and their explanation by Kṣemarāja,[1] nor in the *Parimala* of Maheśvarānanda[2] wherein the entire portion with regard to the *Krama-sūtras* has been adopted *verbatim* from the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*—one comes across any statement to the effect that he wrote a commentary on it. Hence it is doubtful and difficult both to maintain his having written such a work. But he did write some works is pretty clear from his own and Maheśvarānanda's statements to this effect. The latter is indebted to him for his exposition of Pañcavāha, a Krama concept.[3] Extracts from his own Stotras in *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*[4] and *Śiva-stotrāvalī-vivṛti*[5] entertain an unmistakable Krama undertone.

Dr. Pandey has enumerated as many as eighteen works that are ascribed to Kṣemarāja.[6] The mere number of the works attempted makes him a formidable author. The list of Dr. Natarajan swells upto twenty.[7] But the following works noticed by Dr. Pandey, are missed by him :

(i) *Dhvanyālokalocanoddyota*

(ii) A Commentary on thc *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*

(iii) A Commentary on the *Krama-sūtra*

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1. *Vide*, Fn. Nos. 9 and 10 on p. 167.
2. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु...यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन ।
M.M.P., p. 166.
3. एताश्च श्रीक्षेमराजादिभिः पुस्तकेषु लिखितपठिता इत्यस्माभिरपि नामोपादानपूर्वकं चाकित्येन व्याख्याता इति ।
Ibid., p. 90.
4. स्तुतं च मया—स्वतंत्रश्चितिचक्राणां चक्रवर्ती महेश्वरः ।
संवित्तिदेवताचक्रजुष्टः कोऽपि जयत्यसौ ।। इति,
p. 101.
5. तथा च ममैव—प्रज्ञामन्दरमन्थितासममहाभेदोदधेरुद्‌गता-
न्यक्षाक्षेपविवर्तनाभिरभितो दुग्धामृतान्यादरात् ।
वंचित्वा कुविकल्पदैन्यविरहं भूतीरनादृत्य ये
पायं पायमहो पिबन्ति जगति श्लाघ्यास्त एवामराः ।। इति,
p. 296.
6. *Vide Abhi.*, pp. 254-56.
7. *Vide Contribution* , pp. 363-64.

(iv) A *Stotra*
(v) Vṛtti on the *Parameśa Stotrāvali* of Utpala.

The following works recorded by Natarajan, however, seem to have escaped notice of Dr. Pandey :

(i) *Ṣaṭtriṁśat-tattva-saṁdoha*
(ii) *Paramārtha Saṁgraha*
(iii) *Vāmodaya*
(iv) *Śivastotra*
(v) *Spandanilaya*
(vi) *Svacchandanaya*

It is unfortunate that Dr. Natarajan has not disclosed the sources of his information in connection with the works noted above.

A few necessary remarks might be welcome here. His *Uddyota* on the *Vijñāna-bhairava* is available only upto the 23rd verse. Śivopādhyāya starts his commentary from the 24th verse[1] finding Kṣemarāja's commentary henceforward mutilated beyond repairs. The *Sāmba-pañcāśikā* on which he wrote a commentary, published long ago, is a work of some Sāmba Miśra according to the *Ṛjuvimarśinī*. Its full name, therefore, is the *Sāmba-miśra-pañcāśika* and the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* is only an abbreviated form.[2] Hence Kṣemarāja's commentary was also known as *Sāmba-miśra-pañcāśikā-vivṛti* The *Bhairavānukaraṇa Stotra* from which Kṣemarāja has preserved fourteen verses in his *Vivṛti* on the *Svacchanda Tantra*[3] is not fortunately lost to us. Gnoli has published this *Stotra*[4] which he found in the same manuscript belonging to a private collection in which he found five stanzas of Abhinavagupta. In all there are 48 verses out of which stanzas 16-21, 22, 24-29, 31 are quoted in the *Svacchanda Tantra* and verse 3 in the *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*.

1. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।
ऊर्ध्वे प्राणादिपद्यान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥
V.Bh.V., p. 143.

2. साम्बमिश्रपंचाशिकाविवृत्तिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यम् ।
Ṛjuvimarśinī by Śivānanda, Ed B.V. Dvivedi, p. 229.

3. *Sv.T.V.*, VI, pp. 110-20 (14th Paṭala).

4. *Miscellanea Indica* (*Bhairavānukaraṇa St tra* by Kṣemarāja), East & West (New series) IX-3, Sep, 1958, pp. 223-26.

The metre of the verses is Āryā. The *Stotra* is dedicated to the homage of Cidbhairava. Similarly, one manuscript of the *Paramārthasārasaṁgraha-Vivṛti* is available at the BORI, Poona.[1] A comparative look into the contents of the MS with the one written by Yogarāja proves beyond doubt their absolute identity and it is through a scribe's mistake that the authorship has been confused. The colophon ascribes the work to a student of Kśemarāja.[2] Regarding other works there is no fresh material to add.

But this does not close the list of his possible ventures. Apart from his suspected Krama works, he quotes from his own unnamed work in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*.[3] Jayaratha also cites a passage from him without specifying the precise source.[4] There is a verse in the *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*[5] by Varadarāja which raises serious doubts as to whether Kṣemarāja wrote a commentary on the *Tantrasāra* as well. For want of any internal or collateral evidence the possibility of such a work is not very strong. Śrīnivāsabudha, the author of the *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Tripurā Rahasya* cites a verse from Kṣemarāja[6] But the same verse is attributed to the *Āgamarahasya* by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in the *Spanda*

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1. MS. No. 459 of 1875-76.

2. श्रीमत्क्षेमराजस्य सद्गुर्वाम्नायशालिनः ।
साक्षात्कृतमहेशस्य तस्यान्तेवासिना मया ॥
MS. No. 459, folio. 33a.

3. P. 45.

4. तदुक्तं श्रीक्षेमराजपादैः तदियत्पर्यन्तं यन्मातृकायास्तत्त्वं, तदेव ककारसकारप्रत्याहारेणानुत्तरविसर्गसंघट्टसारेण कूटबीजेन प्रदर्शितमन्ते ।
T.A.V., II, p. 178.

5. एतच्छ्रीक्षेमराजेन तन्त्रसारात् समुद्धृतैः ।
संवादैः संमतैः सम्यग्वर्णितं निजवृत्तिगैः ॥
S.S.V., 2.13-14.

6. यदुक्तं क्षेमराजाचार्यैः—
ये त्वीश्वरं व्यपदिशन्ति निमित्तहेतुं
दत्तस्तिलांजलिरमीभिरिहेशितायै ।
अन्यांगतोपगमनेन वशीकृतस्य
कामीश्वरस्थितिममी बत संगिरन्ते ॥
T.R. (*J.Kh.*), pp. 104-05.

Pradīpikā.[1] Owing to Bhaṭṭa Utpala's chronological antiquity the proposition seems unlikely that Kṣemarāja was the author of this verse or the work from which the verse is quoted. In addition to these he has cited several other passages ascribed to himself,[2] which are not traceable to the available works either in print or manuscript. Among his works the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* was popular as *Śakti Sūtra*[3] and its commentary by him as *Śakti Sūtra Bhāṣya*[4] in the Tripurā circles. The *Kāmakalā-vilāsa* refers to it as the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*[5] and also as the *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra*[6]—a name that has been usually in vogue for Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā-kārikās* among the Śaivist schools.

The various stages in his creative thinking may be discerned in the chronological order on his own testimony.[7] He had his first philosophical encounter with the Spanda system. First, he wrote the *Spanda Saṁdoha* followed by the *Spanda Nirṇaya* in which he perceptibly deviated from the traditional Spanda schoolmen. The Pratyabhijñā was his next field in which he produced his two famous works namely, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* and *Svacchanda-tantra-uddyota.* This was followed by his illustrious commentary on the *Śiva-sūtra* called *Vimarśinī* Similarly his commentaries on the *Stava-cintāmaṇī* and *Netra Tantra*, too, came after that on the *Svacchanda Tantra.* During this period he continued his other literary and philosophical minor ventures allusions to which are splashed through all his works.[8]

He has tremendous respect for his teacher and has closely drawn on him for whatever has passed through under his pen. Yet he never compromised reason and originality with love and reverence. His own pronouncements to the effect amply bear

1 *Vide Sp.P.*, p. 23
2. *Sv.T.*, I, p. 108; VI, p. 16.
3. *Yoginīhṛdaya-dīpikā*, pp. 13, 16, 70, 107.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 70.
5. *K.K.V.*, p. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 13, 26.
7. *S.S.Vi.*, pp. 3, 12; *Sp.N.*, pp. 1, 7; *P.Hṛ.*, p. 63; *St.C.V.*, p. 126.
8. *P.Hṛ.*, p. 84; *Sp.N.*, p. 13, 34, 36, 77; *S.S.Vi.*, p. 146; *Sv.T.*, I, p. 108.

out his claim.[1] In the last verse of his *Spanda Saṁdoha*[2] he makes it absolutely clear that though he owes much of the Spanda doctrine to Abhinava yet whatever he has written embodies his own reflections as well.

From the verses at the end of the *Vivṛti* on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* it is manifest that he lived at the Vijayeśvara, the modern Bijbihara (in Kashmiri Vyajibror), a town about thirty miles off Srinagar on the eastern side where, on persuasion of his pupil Śūra, he finished within a couple of days the writing of his commentary on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa,[3] who was Kṣemarāja's grandteacher also.

Thus, there is no doubt that his contribution to the Kashmir Śaivism as well as the Krama system is inferior only to his redoubtable master.

(xxv) *Varadarāja* (1000—1050 A.D.) alias *Kṛṣṇadāsa*

Varadarāja perhaps did not write any treatise pertaining to Krama. The only factor that has necessitated his mention here consists in the fact that his work, *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*, contains enough important material to indicate the historical development of the Krama concepts and ideas.[4] In the philosophical section of the thesis every opportunity has been exploited to deal with this aspect of his contributions in their relative contexts. In this connection it has to be noted that notwithstanding his enormous debt to Kṣemarāja, he does add a touch of his own with regard to the presentation of the Krama dicta.

The *Śivasūtravārttika* is his famous work which he has wholly drawn on Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī* as confessed by

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1. श्रुत्वा सम्यगिदं प्रभोरभिनवात्स्मृत्वा च किंचिन्मया ।
क्षेमेणार्थिजनेन विवृतं श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रं मनाक् ॥
2. तेनार्थिप्रणयाद् दिनस्त्रिचतुरैर्या क्षेमराजो व्यधात् ।
क्षेत्रे श्रीविजयेश्वरस्य विमले सैषा शिवाराधनी ॥
St.C.V., p. 130; also see, Introduction. *Sv.T.*, I, p. vii.
3 विवृतिश्चात्र तत्रभवत्स्तुतिसूक्तिकारप्रशिष्यमहामाहेश्वराचार्यश्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपादपद्ममधुपराजस्य राजानकक्षेमराजस्य ।
Colophon to *St.C.V.*, p. 13.
4. *Vide* his *Vārttika* on the *S.S.* 1.6, 7, 12, 17, 22; 2-5, 6; 3.16, 43.

him.[1] In addition to this, he appears to have written a book called *Laghu-vṛtti-vimarśinī* whose manuscript is available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.[2] In the opening verses the author calls himself as Kṛṣṇadāsa[3] (and this agrees with the colophon)[4] and tells that it is a commentary on the *Parātriṁśikā*.[5] There is no problem in identifying the authors of the two works. Because in his *Vārttika* also he gives out his other name as Kṛṣṇadāsa.[6] Besides, at both the places he refers to Madhurāja. In the *Vārttika* he presents himself as his youngest son[7] and in the *Laghuvṛttivimarśinī* as Mādhura's student.[8] In the latter work he throws a veiled hint at his being a direct disciple of Abhinava.[9] In fact Madhurāja and Mādhura are the same persons. Madhurāja himself refers to it in his *Gurunātha-*

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1. महामाहेश्वरश्रीमत्क्षेमराजमुखोद्गताम् ।
अनुसृत्यैव सद्वृत्तिमंजसा क्रियते मया ॥
वार्तिकं शिवसूत्राणां वाक्यैरेव तदीरितैः ।
S.S.V., 1.5 6; also see 2.13-14; 3.214.
2. MS. No. 1074 D. C.O.L. No. 2108D, DCSMCOL, Trivandrum, Vol. V, p. 2401.
3. श्रीकृष्णदासः कुरुते लघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनीम् ।
Ibid.
4. इति श्रीकृष्णदासकृतिः श्रीलघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा ।
Ibid.
5. श्रीपरात्रिंशिकाख्यस्य सूत्ररूपस्य त्रिकशास्त्रस्य अक्षरतो गुर्वीं ग्रन्थतो लघीयसीं वृत्ति- ...लघुवृत्ति चिकीर्षुः तत्प्रतिज्ञेयमनुत्तरज्योतिरनुसंधत्ते ।
Ibid.
6. मया वरदराजेन... ।
कृतिना कृष्णदासेन व्यंजितं कृपयांजसा ।
S.S.V., 3.124-15.
7. मधुराजकुमाराणां महाहन्ताधिरोहिणाम् ।
पश्चिमेन तदालोकध्वस्तपश्चिमजन्मना ।
S.S.V., 3.213.
8. परानुत्तरसंघट्टपरमार्थप्रबोधकाः ।
जयन्त्यभिनवाचार्यचरणाम्भोजरेणवः ॥
श्रीमाधुरमहाचार्यंचरणाम्भोजषट्पदः ।
श्रीकृष्णदास...............॥
DCSMCOL, Trivandrum, V., p. 2401.
9. See fn. 8 above.

parāmarśa.[1] According to P.N. Pushp, Mādhura is a place name and is identical with modern Madurai.[2] If such be the case, which it probably is owing to the extensive countrywide tours of Madhurāja, it forms a prelude to Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse with the South that reached its culmination in Śivānanda, Mahāprakāśa and Maheśvarānanda from Cola (Modern Karnatak).

The date of Varadarāja may be settled easily. On the basis of a probable interpretation of the phrase used by Madhurāja e.g , "Siddha-viśākha-kṛpāmṛta-varṣe", Dr. Pandey hypothetically places Madhurāja in the Saptarsi year 4167 (1093 A.D.) when he was eighty years of age.[3] And if it is interpreted in terms of Kali era, the year of his birth comes to be 4087 Kali On this latter calculation, he would be 28 years old during the year 4115 of Kali era (1014-15 A D.) when the *Īsvara-Pratyabhijñavivṛti-vimarsinī* of Abhinava was completed.[4] This would naturally place Varadarāja somewhere between 1020-1080 A.D.

But on certain additional evidence Varadarāja seems to have flourished little earlier. The 38th verse of the *Gurunātha-parāmarśa* explicitly mentions Madhurāja's age at 74 when he first called on Abhinava.[5] He lived there for four years at his master's feet and was 78 when he composed *Gurunātha-parāmarsa.*[6] At that time Abhinava was alive. On the above

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1. अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचा सुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽहम् ।
Verse 39.

2. Prefatory to *Gurunāthaparāmarśa*, p. ii.

3. *Abhi.*, p. 259.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

5. चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।
पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति गुप्तमध्यापि ॥

6. विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन निस्तीर्णभीमतरभैरवधीप्रवाहः ।
अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचासुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोहम् ॥
G.N.P., verse. 39.
Dr. Pandey quotes this verse as No. 6 from the Svātma-parāmarśa. *Abhi* , p. 258.

calculation it would appear that Madhurāja visited Abhinava during 1060-61 A.D. and remained with him till 1064-65 A.D. This would be probably stretching the date of Abhinava beyond proportions. Moreover Varadarāja, though closely following Kṣemarāja, does not introduce himself as latter's pupil. Instead, he flashes a subtle hint that he was taught by Abhinava and Madhurāja both. In that case, he might have been of mature age when his father approached Abhinava, because then his father himself was 74. Since he follows the *Vimarśinī* of Kṣemarāja which was among the latter's last works, he comes to be his slightly junior contemporary and may be placed around 1000-1050 A.D.

It therefore seems likely that the interpretation of the verse, alluded to above, requires a further probe. In this connection we may suggest as a tentative measure that if the word Viśākha be interpreted as standing for number 'one' representing Kārttikeya (himself) instead of 'six' (representing his six faces) as taken by Dr. Pandey, we find the phrase "Siddhaviśākha-kṛpāmṛtavarṣe" will mean "in the year 4117 (and not 4167)." This will further mean that Madhurāja was eighty years old in 4117 (1016-17 A.D.) of Kali era. Thus he would be 78 years when Abhinavagupta completed his *Bṛhatī-vimarśinī*. Accordingly all events connected with Madhurāja, on this interpretation, will go back by 50 years. This will more or less tally with our date assigned to Varadarāja and eliminate the difficulties enumerated above.

(xxvi) *Devabhaṭṭa* (*Devapāṇi* ?) 1025-1075 A.D.

Maheśvarānanda refers to himself as a devout adherent to the school of Devapāṇi and accordingly admits that the functional cycles are to be adored in the order that commences with Sṛṣṭicakra and closes with Bhāsā cakra.[1] He rejects any alternative arrangement. Beyond this one knows nothing of Devapāṇi.

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1. तत्रोद्दिष्टभंग्या सृष्ट्यादिभासान्तं चक्रं श्रीदेवपाणिसम्प्रविष्टैरस्माभिरनुसन्धीयते, न पुनरेतद्विपर्ययेण ।

M.M.P., p. 108.

Of late certain material has come to notice that may help one hazard a guess in this regard. Dr. Raghavan has invited the attention of the scholars to a work, *Anuttara-śrīgurupaṅkti-parāmarśa*,by name.[1] The MS belongs to the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and bears No. MD 15330. The work deals with the linear chronology of the Pratyabhijñā authors in the following sequence—Somānanda, Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Śūra. Śūra is mentioned as a pupil of Kṣemarāja. The author of this *Gurupaṅkti* is one Deva Bhaṭṭa who describes himself as a pupil of Śūra.[2] We are not aware whether or not Devapāṇi can be equated with this Devabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa being an honorific title or surname. There is another name ending with the word Pāṇi e.g., Cakrapāṇi, among the Krama authors to be discussed subsequently. He has also been referred to as Cakranātha instead of Cakrapāṇi.[3] Hence, it does not seem utterly irrelevant to view Devapāṇi's whereabouts in this perspective.[4]

If, at all, such possibility is conceded, Devapāṇi's (?) date is fairly certain, since he comes next to Śūra, the pupil of Kṣemarāja (975-1025 A.D.) and may, therefore, be assigned to a period about 1025-1075 A.D. But, it may be repeated, it is a mere hypothesis.

(xxvii) *Hrasvanātha* (1025-1075 A.D.)

With Hrasvanātha one enters into one of the most complicated arenas of the Krama history. His advent is a landmark

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1. "The Works of Abhinavagupta", *JOR*, XIV-IV, p. 327.

2. तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत्...............।
...............................॥
बहुधेत्थं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ।
अधीत्य देवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता संतानसंकथा ॥
Quoted, *ibid.*

3. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्यामात्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम द्योतयति ।
B.U.V., p. 44.

4. Dr. Raghavan also refers to a work named *Śivasūtra-varttika* in the MS No. 21 (other details missing) by one Bhiṣag Devarāja. *JORI*, XIV-IV, p. 323. His silence over other aspects of the author or text makes it meaningless to derive any implication whatsoever.

in the Krama annals, because he heads a tradition that has produced the texts of the eminence of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* and *Mahānayaprakāśa*(*S*) etc.

His time may be discussed first, since it is the main hurdle. The forthcoming paragraphs are addressed to examining the relevant data to the extent available and allowing each factor and evidence to suggest its own conclusion. It may, however, be pointed out that Cakrabhānu's date is a key-factor in deciding the date of Hrasvanātha. Let us take these data one by one.

(i) Jayaratha (1150-1200 A.D.) refers to Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja and Somarāja in a succession.[1] Hrasvanātha, therefore, must precede Jayaratha and, in view of the intervening generations, be placed around 1075-1125 A.D. In other words he should not be later than this date.

(ii) According to a tradition current in Jayaratha's time,[2] the series of the Krama teachers from Keyūravatī (825-875 A.D.) to Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, (both inclusive) account for sixteen generations of Krama. In other words, the distance between Keyūravatī and Cakrabhānu (both exclusive) spreads over thirteen generations. Allowing 25 years to each generation (i.e. about 325 years) he may be placed around 1150-1175 A.D. since Keyūravatī belongs to the second and third quarters of the ninth century. But at this point we encounter another tradition recorded by Jayaratha.[3] It does not take the first six

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1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि इति न पंचैव शिष्याः श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात्, तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

2. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।
संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्थम् ॥

Ibid., p. 195.

3. तथा हि अत्र श्रीककारदेव्यास्तस्याः
'प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सवंशास्तु ।'
इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं—श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकयोरपि एतच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथश्चास्या शिष्यः ।

Ibid., pp. 195-96.

pupils of Keyūravatī in vertical order but in horizontal one, that is, the first six pupils were mutually contemporary. Hence, Cakrabhānu's removal from Keyūravatī is cut short from 13 to 8 generations (13—6=7, +1 representing all the six disciples). The approximate date of Cakrabhānu may, therefore, be put in the vicinity of 1025-1075 A.D. This conclusion is further substantiated by Jayaratha's final premise[1] that twenty generations account for the entire preceptorial tradition from Śivānanda to Bhūtirāja, pupil of Cakrabhānu. Among these, first generation has three teachers (Keyūravātī etc.) and the second six (Govindarāja etc.). Thus Cakrabhānu (and not his pupil) is removed from Śivānanda not by twenty but by ten generations (both exclusive). Ten we say, because between Śivānanda and Cakrabhānu seventeen (excluding both as well as Cakrabhānu's pupil) generations have intervened. If we deduct seven generations (not nine because three pupils would account for one and the other six for the other generation) from seventeen the gap is reduced to ten. Computing it from Śivānanda (800-850 A.D.) upto Cakrabhānu, a period of 250 years seems to have elapsed. Cakrabhānu, therefore, comes close to the era (1050-1100 A.D.) as discussed above.

(iii) Jayaratha has drawn our attention to the fact that Hrasvanātha either possessed a commentary in manuscript form on the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanātha) or else wrote a commentary on it.[2] Whatever be the case, Hrasvanātha therefore cannot be placed earlier than 925-975 A.D., the date of the Stotrakāra. From Jayaratha's description it is obvious that people had started speculating about the number of the verses in and the central theme of the *Krama Stotra* and, consequently,

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1. तदेष क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।
सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे सवंशनिर्वंशान् ॥
इति नियमो न न्याय्यः—शिष्यद्वयस्य अस्य अपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 195.

2. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

numerous commentaries had come into existence.[1] Therefore an allowance has to be made for the adequate lapse of time between the *Stotra* and Hrasvanātha so as to give rise to the controversies with regard to the *Stotra*. A hundred years' gap may be sufficient to account for the confusion. Consequently his date falls about 1025-1075 A.D. On this count, Bhojarāja and Somarāja being the consecutive successors would naturally be placed around 1050-1100 A.D. and 1075-1125 A.D. respectively.

(iv) Jayaratha quotes two verses from Somarāja describing his preceptorial ancestry.[2] It is to be noted that Hrasvanātha was removed from Somarāja only by one generation e.g., Bhojarāja. It was natural for Soma to come at the end of the tradition since he himself is recording the tradition.[3]

(v) In this connection the *Cidgaganacandrikā* also traces the origin of the tradition to Śivānanda and places Soma at the end of the tradition.[4] The place of Cakrabhānu comes in between and he is referred to as the pilot (ānanāgra) among the pupils It is therefore implicit in it that Soma came at the end of that tradition which was presided over by Cakrabhānu.

(vi) Cakrabhānu is described by Śitikaṇṭha as marking the end of human tradition (Mānavaugha) but constituting the beginning of the line of disciples (Śiṣyaugha). With Hrasvanātha the human tradition begins.[5] In other words Hrasvanātha

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1. सर्वेषामेव च विवरणकृतामत्र प्रतिपदं पाठानां श्लोकानां व्यत्यासो दृश्यते, इत्यस्मद्दृष्ट एव पाठे क इवायं प्रद्वेषः ।
T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

3. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।
Ibid., p. 196.

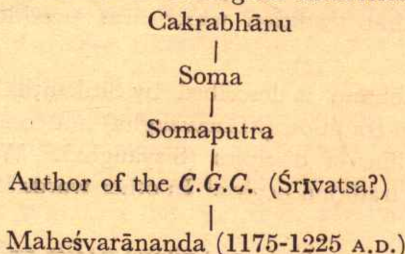
4. यः शिवात् प्रभृति सोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।
आननाग्रमिह चक्रभानुतो यस्त्वमेतदुभयं त्वया मया ॥
C.G.C., 4.121.

5. मानवौघनेत्रराशी ह्रस्वनाथेति त्रिरूपस्य कुलारणि...उत्पत्तिस्थानम्, ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः...।
M.P.(*S*), p. 107.

precedes Cakrabhānu. This tradition was in course of time handed down to Śitikaṇṭha.

(vii) Since (a) Hrasvanātha precedes Cakrabhānu,[1] (b) Soma or Somarāja comes at the end of the tradition presided by Cakrabhānu,[2] and (c) only one generation intervenes between Hrasvanātha and Somarāja,[3] the gap between Hrasvanātha and Somarāja is necessarily filled in by Cakrabhānu on the one hand and Bhojarāja on the other.

(viii) To come back to dates again. It has been seen that the *Cidgaganacandrikā* takes note of a tradition headed by Śivānanda and concluded with Soma. The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* claims to have learnt the secrets of the system from Somaputra i.e., Soma's son.[4] That is, the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* chronologically succeeds the son of Soma. This text has been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[5] Maheśvarānanda is assigned to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth (1175-1225 A.D.) century. In the circumstances, the following picture of the authors' chronological succession emerges :



Thus one arrives at Cakrabhānu's probable period which falls about 1075-1125 A.D. Hrasvanātha, owing to his historical priority, would naturally belong to 1050-1100 A.D.

1. *Ibid.*
2. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.
3. *T.A.V.*, III, p 196.
4. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽद्य किमपि स्तुतो मया ।
   C.G.C., 4.125.
5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 28, 53, 71, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103-104, 110, 124, 131, 145, 154, 167.

(ix) In this connection a point must be considered. The last verse of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* mentions the name of its author as Śrīvatsa [1] If this Śrīvatsa is taken to be identical with one who is Maṅkha's friend and contemporary,[2] Śrīvatsa would be placed round about 1125-1175 A.D.; because Maṅkha was a court-minister of King Jayasiṁha[3] (1127-1151 A.D.).

In that case the son of Soma, Soma and Cakrabhānu would naturally come around 1100-1150, 1075-1125 and 1075-1100 A.D. respectively. Contemporaneous with Cakrabhānu, Bhojarāja would also be placed during 1050-1100 A.D. Hrasvanātha being an immediate precursor of Cakrabhānu would automatically date back by a generation i.e., 1025-1075 A.D.

Thus from all these considerations Hrasvanātha may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. Similarly Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, may be bracketed with Soma (1075-1125 A.D.).

Coming to his creative side, one is not placed in a very happy position to say much about his scholarship and contribution. He was also known by another name i.e., Vīranātha-pāda.[4] If one abides by Dr. Pandey's suggested modification of 'Hrasvanāthenāpi' into 'Hrasvanāthasyāpi',[5] one may be able to say that Hrasvanātha wrote a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* in his own hand-writing and the same was accessible to Jayaratha. If, however, the original construction is retained, one would have an occasion to say that Hrasvanātha had his own manuscript copy of a commentary on the *Krama Stotra*. A verse from his manuscript of the *Krama Stotra* which contained

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1. वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ॥

C.G C, 4. 134.

2. *S.K.C.*, 25.82.
3. *Ibid.*, 25.61.
4. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि

"श्रीवीरनाथपादैः पंच च देवीनये कृताः शिष्याः ।"

इति न पंचैव शिष्याः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

5. *Abhi.*, p. 473.

an additional verse pertaining to *Rudra-kālī*, not traceable to other commentaries, has been cited by Jayaratha [1] Hrasvanātha had seen this verse in his script.

Hrasvanātha, too, was not free from the complications of a controversy. Jayaratha criticises a verse that gave the number of his pupils as five, whereas Jayaratha points out that he had six students, the sixth being Bhojarāja.[2] The controversy, however, clarifies the issue of the precise number of his students.

There is one more Hrasvanātha, who is said to have written a work entitled *Advayasaṁpatti*. His father's name was Harṣadatta.[3] The problem is whether the two could be

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1. या सा जगद्ध्वंसयते समग्रं मृत्योर्वपुर्ग्रासयतीति विष्वक् ।
धामाग्निरूपीयसहस्रदीप्तां तां नौमि कालानलरुद्रकालीम् ॥
इति द्वितीयेन श्लोकेन स्तुतिः समस्ति...अथायमपि भवत्कल्पित एव श्लोकः, इति चेत्
नैतत् श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य श्लोकस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।
T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. इति श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि...।
इति न पंचैव शिष्याः—श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात् ।
Ibid., p. 196.

3. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेन हर्षदत्तसूनुनापि अहंकारमयीभूमिः...इत्यादिना अद्वयसंपत्तौ ।
V.Bh.V., p. 90.

In the Library of BORI, Poona, there is a manuscript of (no. 472 of 1875-76) a work called *Bodhavilāsa*. Its author is some Harṣadatta-sūnu (i.e., son of Harṣadatta). The colophon reads—

ढा (टा) क (रु) देशसमुद्भूतो मीमांसावनकेसरी ।
हर्षदत्तेति नाम्ना तु तस्य सूनोरियं कृतिः ॥

It is a small work in Śāradā characters. Its author is the son of some Harṣadatta very proficient in the Mīmāṁsā system. But the comparison of the text with that quoted by Śivopādhyāya from *Advayasaṁpatti* ascribed to Vāmananātha vide *V.Bh.V.*, pp. 78-79 shows their verbatim affinity barring a few minor variations. The only difference between the two texts consists in the four additional verses contained in *Bodhavilāsa*, two in the beginning and two towards the close. Keeping in view the arguments advanced above it leads one to formulate the following views—(i) *Bodhavilāsa* was an additional title of the *Advayasaṁpatti*, (ii) the MS as it is, has been copied from the *Vivṛti* of Śivopādhyāya, appending four extra verses to it, (iii) whatever the name of the text it was written by the son of Harṣadatta, possibly also known as Vāmananātha, (v) the work was intended to be a commentary on

identified. Abhinava refers to one Vāmana, author of a commentary on the *Advayasaṁpatti*, called *Advayasaṁpatti-vārttika*.[1] If there is a *Vārttika* on the *Advaya-sampatti* of Hrasvanātha, son of Harṣadatta, he gets even remoter and older than Abhinava. Naturally the two cannot be identified. There is an additional support for the above contention. The same quotation is attributed to Vāmananātha by Śivopādhyāya who attributes *Advayavārttika* to Hrasvanātha, the son of Harṣadatta, in a different context.[2] Here he is spoken of as the author of *Dvayasaṁpatti*. Actually initial 'A' is missing owing to the scribe's omission. Thus Hrasvanātha alias Vīranāthapāda is different from Hrasvanātha at issue who was considerably older than the former.

(xxviii) *Cakrabhānu* (1050-1100 A.D.)

A comparative estimate of the various opinions expressed about Cakrabhānu elevates his stature in the eyes of the reader as an eminent Krama author.

The problem of his date has already been settled by us in the foregoing pages. He seems to have flourished around the second half of the eleventh century.

It is to be regretted that no work of his either in reference, manuscript or print has come down today. Hence it is extremely difficult to ascertain the magnitude and nature of his contribution. A few scattered allusions to him are one's only guide.

With him the main human pedigree (Mānavaugha) of teachers comes to an end and an intra-human series of disciples (Śiṣyaugha) begins. He enjoys an position of unchallenged superiority among all the persons that constitute the chain of

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the *Advayasaṁpatti*, since Vāmananātha wrote another commentary in addition to the existing one by somebody else, and (vi) the commentary also went by the name of the original text as the two extracts cited by Śivopādhyāya prove. This is all that may be said at present.

1. एष एव श्रीवामनविरचिते अद्वयसंपत्तिवार्तिके उपदेशनयो बोद्धव्यः ।
P.T.V., p. 198.

2. द्वयसंपत्तिकारस्तु वामननाथो विवृत्त्यन्तरम् आह,
यथा--अहंकारमयी भूमिः.........।
V.Bh.V., p. 78.

disciples (Śiṣyaugha).[1] He was possibly a student of Hrasvanātha, because he belongs to the tradition of Soma,[2] the grand pupil of the former, and because the former had six pupils one of them being Bhojarāja, the teacher of Somarāja.[3] The enviable status enjoyed by Cakrabhānu among the tradition of the disciples is possible only when he is at the helm of the tradition. That this is so has been confirmed by Śitikaṇṭha[4] and the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.[5] Since Somarāja is separated from Hrasvanātha by one generation, Cakrabhānu together with Bhojarāja in all probability be a pupil of Hrasvanātha.

Although he belonged to a different tradition from one subscribed to by Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda etc., he came direct in the original tradition of Keyūravatī.[6] As after Keyūravatī etc , many a tradition became afloat within the precincts of the Krama system, Cakrabhānu might be associated with one of those traditions. He, through tradition, might be linked with any of the three unnamed disciples of Keyūravati,[7] since the whereabouts of other remaining three are well known.

Cakrabhānu had eight pupils, himself being the master of them. Amongst these a lady ascetic called Īśānā was responsible for a fresh tradition which continued uninterrupted till the time of Śitikaṇṭha.[8] His (Cakrabhānu's) role as a Krama teacher has elicited extreme admiration from Śitikaṇṭha.[9]

Till the time of Jayaratha his importance had blurred the precise view of his actual contribution, so much so that his pupil Bhūtirāja was confused with one of the same name who

1. ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः ।
   M.P.(S), p. 107.
2. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.
3. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 196.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *C.G.C.* 4.121.
6. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 193.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.
8. शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः अष्टाणां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद् राज्ञी ईशानाख्या स(म)दन्तं पारम्पर्यनिदानम् ।
   M.P.(S), p. 107.
9. तथैव भानुः श्रीचक्रभानुः शिष्यकमलानां विकासकः, इति

was Abhinava's teacher in Brahmavidyā.[1] Jayaratha completely rejects the theory as without foundation that Cakrabhānu's pupil was Abhinava's teacher. Jayaratha even goes to the extent of decrying the claim of Bhūtirāja as a pupil of Cakrabhānu. Cakrabhānu's abstinence from such type of teaching has been the main source of confusion and consequently numerous interpretations of his views.[2]

Thus the respective stands taken by Jayaratha and Śitikaṇṭha tend to appear paradoxical. In view of the weighty collateral evidence frequently referred to, it is difficult to agree with Jayaratha that he never taught anybody. He, therefore, might be construed to mean that Cakrabhānu never taught any Bhūtirāja and thus the paradox be tentatively reconciled. Possibly this will be a more reasonable attitude towards Jayaratha too.

(xxix) *Cakrapāṇi* (1050-1100/1075-1125 A.D.)

According to the original plan Cakrapāṇi was to be discussed among the authors of the next generation, but this deviation appears necessary in view of the foregoing discussion impelling us to hazard certain suggestions in the context.

The Research Department of Kashmir Government has brought out as the 14th volume of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies a work called *Bhāvopahāra* ascribed to one Cakrapāṇi with a commentary by Ramyadeva. The *Bhāvopahāra*, on going through its contents, transpires to be a Krama stotra. Ramyadeva's commentary totally actuated by the Krama ideology leaves no doubt about it. Its precise philosophical views have been fully taken into account at appropriate occasions during the course of philosophical treatment. Ramyadeva, in the opening verses of his commentary[3] and in his commentary[4] on the

1. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 193-94.
2. इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव—इत्युपेक्ष्यम् । नहि श्रीचक्रभानुना प्रायः कस्यचिदपि एवमुपदिष्टम्—तन्मूलतयैव इदानीमस्योपदेशस्य शतशो दर्शनात् ।
T.A.V., III, pp. 193-94.
3. जयत्यकामोदितरश्मिरूपस्वशक्तिपुंजात्मकचक्रनाथः ॥
B.U.V., p. 1., v. 2.
देवं चक्रं श्रये क्रीडाक्रोडीकृतकृतान्तकम् ।
Ibid, verse 3.
4. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्याम् आत्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम द्योतयति ।
Ibid., p. 44.

last verse[1] of the *Stotra*, gives out the name of the author of the *Stotra* as Cakrapāṇi who has been variously called Cakranātha and Cakreśa etc.

Coming to the personal details and time of Cakrapāṇi one finds a veil of mystery surrounding it. Let us try to pierce through it.

The commentator of the work is Ramyadeva who refers to a work of his son also.[2] Now both of these, father and son, are described by Maṅkha as members of his brother's (Laṅkaka's) intellectual club.[3] Ramyadeva, therefore, appears to be a senior contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.) and may be assigned to the twelfth century (1100-1150 A.D.). The *Bhāvopahāra*, in the fitness of things, would precede this period, that is, the lower limit of the *Bhāvopahāra's* period would not go below 1075-1125 A.D. The work cannot be much older, because no Krama author beyond Devabhaṭṭa (1025-1075 A.D.) takes note of it. Moreover the language of the *Stotra* and the contents both have a greater imprint of mysticism and esoteric symbolism which are definitely signs of the later phase of the Krama system.

During this period there is only one person, except Cakrapāṇi, who has the word Cakra forming part of his name. He is Cakrabhānu. He is a known Krama author. Will it, therefore, be incongruous and without basis to identify Cakrapāṇi with Cakrabhānu ? Cakrabhānu's time is about 1050-1100 A.D. Cakrapāṇi's probable time is not later than 1075-1125 A.D. Thus a gap of twentyfive years is not an unbridgeable gap and since there is rather greater certainty about Cakrabhānu's date, it will be better to push the date of Cakrapāṇi slightly back. If this equation be conceded, one would be in a better position to appreciate the creative aspect of Cakrabhānu's genius.

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1. महापाशुपतोद्याने कश्चिद्विश्रम्य तापसः ।
चक्रे चिच्चक्रनाथस्य शम्भोर्भावनुतिं पराम् ।।
B.U., verse 47.

2. *B.U.V.*, p. 6.
3. *S.K.C.*, 25. 33, 36.

(xxx) *Bhojarāja* (1050-1100 A.D.)

Whatever little is known about him, has already been brought to notice. A few points of information alone remain to be given here. As seen already, Bhojarāja as the sixth student of Hrasvanātha and a contemporary of Cakrabhānu belongs to the latter half of the eleventh century. He was also known by his other name i.e , Vāmanabhānu. Somarāja, from whom Jayaratha quotes, while giving out his preceptorial pedigree in two verses figuratively suggests that Bhojarāja perhaps wrote a work, the *Kramakamala* by name, on the system. Because in both the passages he is portrayed as an adept in letting the Kramakamala, bloom. One knows of a similar title e.g., *Kulakamala*, belonging to the Kula system. Hence it is not at all improbable that he might have written some such work. He was a man of high spiritual attainments.[1]

Sri Braj Vallabha Dwivedi in his essay on the Tripurā Darśana[2] raises an important question in this regard.

According to him, the *Ṛjuvimarśinī* by Śivānanda refers to one Dīpakanātha who was ostensibly influenced by Bhojarāja. This Dīpakanāthā is one among the Tripurā teachers preceding Jayaratha. According to the Tripurā tradition, Dīpakanātha is posterior to Dharmācārya who is the author of the *Laghustava*, and for that matter, the *Pañcastavī*, on the authority of Amṛtānanda, the author of the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*. The 18th verse of the third *Stava* has been quoted by Bhojarāja in the fifth chapter of *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and a verse from the same *Stava* has also been cited by Mammaṭa in the 10th chapter of

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1. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षारोन श्रीसोमराजेन—
श्रीमद्वामनभानुः क्रमकमलविकासने चतुरः ।
जयति षडध्वप्रोज्झितपरनभसि निबद्धसंतानः ॥
येन ध्वस्तः समस्तो गहनतरमहामोहान्धकारो
दत्तः सम्यक्प्रकाशः क्रमकमलवनोल्लासविश्रान्तिरूपः ।
प्राप्ता येनैव संविन्निरुपमसरसास्वादसंयोगभोगा
वन्दे श्रीभोजराजं गुरुवरमहितं पूज्यमर्हद्भिरन्तः ॥ इति ।
T.A.V., III, pp. 196-97

2. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिताचार्याः तत्कृतयश्च,
S.Su., XX-2, pp. 23-24.

his *Kāvya Prakāśa*. Thus Dharmācārya is definitely anterior to Bhojarāja and Mammaṭa. His successor (not necessarily immediate) Dīpakanātha is said to have been demonstrably influenced by Bhojarāja. Now the question is who is this Bhojarāja—the author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* or a different one.

Mr. Dwivedi has raised an important problem. It is difficult to say that the problem can be answered easily. Yet, an annexure may be added to the question itself.

From the above presentation it is definite that whosoever this Bhojarāja might be, he does belong to the same period as do Dīpakanātha etc. The author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Tattva-prakāśikā* (a Śaiva Siddhānta text) is identified with the king Bhoja of Dhārā whose period is taken to be 1010-1060 A.D. by Smith.[1] Now this Bhojarāja, the Krama author, has been assigned above to the period 1050-1100 A.D. It is, however, not definitely known whether all these Bhojas are one or different. But as a hypothesis one must consider the issue if Bhojarāja, the Krama author, can lay any claim to influencing Dīpakanātha. In the history of the tantric system, however, such cross-influences or synthetic personalities do not present an unusual spectacle.

(xxxi) *Somarāja* (1075-1125 A.D.)

Somarāja came next to Hrasvanātha, his teacher, in order of succession. He probably wrote a work which included the details of his preceptorial ancestry. The two verses cited and ascribed by Jayaratha[2] to him are probably from this work. He was the last teacher in the tradition that came direct from Śivānanda[3] and was punctuated with the teachers of the eminence of Cakrabhānu. He had a son who later transmitted the mysteries of the system to the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*[4] He, as discussed earlier, may be assigned to the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

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1. *Abhinava*, p. 172.
2. *T.A V.* III pp. 196-97.
3. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.
4. *Ibid.*, 4.125.

(xxxii) *The great-grand* (*Parameṣṭhī*) *teacher of Jayaratha* (*Viśvadatta* ?) (1075-1125 A.D.)

The Parameṣṭhī guru of Jayaratha is mentioned only once and a verse is also attributed to him by Jayaratha.[1] In fact the verse is very popular among the authors of Kashmir Śaivism and appears in many a text as a benedictory verse. Jayaratha gives the three interpretations of the first verse of the *Tantrāloka* in accordance with its bearings upon the Kula and Krama systems and Abhinava's parentage respectively. It is in the context of the second i.e., Krama interpretation, that the verse is cited in support of his presentation of the Ultimate Awareness technically called Anākhyā.

Fortunately Jayaratha gives in full both of his genealogies[2] —parental as well as preceptorial. In the line of his teachers one finds only one person, Viśvadatta, who could perhaps be equated with Jayaratha's Parameṣṭhī guru in question.[3] Viśvadatta is the father of Tribhuvanadatta and the grandfather of Subhaṭadatta who is credited with having performed Jayaratha's initiation.

If one puts the two genealogies side by side, it will be apparent that Viśvadatta was a contemporary of the two great grandfathers of Jayaratha, namely, Guṇaratha and Devaratha. They themselves were grandsons of Utpalaratha who was a minister of the king Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) and their eldest uncle Śivaratha was a minister of king Ucchala (1101-1111 A.D.). Therefore, Guṇaratha and Devaratha may be placed somewhere during 1075-1125 A.D. Viśvadatta being their con-

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1. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमेष्ठिगुरुभिः—
क्रमत्रयसमाश्रयव्यतिकरेण या संततं
क्रमत्रितयलंघनं विदधती विभात्युच्चकैः ।
क्रमैकवपुरक्रमप्रकृतिरेव या द्योतते
करोमि हृदि तामहं भगवतीं परां संविदम् ॥
T.A.V., I, p. 11.

2. *T.A.V.*, XII, pp. 430-434.

3. श्रीविश्वदत्तपौत्रत्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।
श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥
Ibid., p. 4.33.

temporary would also belong to near about the same period. It may also be noted that Utpalaratha II was the maternal nephew as well as a pupil of Vibhūtidatta, the father of Viśvadatta.[1] Vibhūtidatta could not bear the loss of his elder son and consequently being completely disillusioned and detatched he could not educate his another son, Viśvadatta, who was quite young.[2] Viśvadatta was therefore left to the care of Śrīcakra, a student of Vibhūtidatta, and who handed over all the ancestral learning to Viśvadatta.[3] Utpalaratha II, the maternal cousin of Viśvadatta brought the latter to his home and brought him up. When he attained the age, Utpalaratha got a residence erected for him opposite the temple constructed by some Kanakadatta and gave him sufficient resources—movable and immovable both—in order to relieve him from worldly worries.[4]

It was this Viśvadatta who is possibly referred to as Jayaratha's greatgrand teacher. It is really striking to observe that from the very beginning the teacher and the taught relationship had been obtaining between the two ancestral lines—one preceptorial and the other parental—of Jayaratha.

(xxxiii) *Somaputra* (1100-1150 A.D.)

The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* expresses his indebtedness to the son of Soma for divulging to him the Krama

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1. श्रीमान् विभूतिदत्तो व्यधादमुं मातुलः शिष्यम् ।
2. अध्याप्याखिलसंहिता अपि सुतस्नेहान्निषिक्ते मृते
पुत्रे ज्यायसि देवतापरिहृतासेके दिनैः सप्तभिः ।
वैरस्यान्न कनीयसे स यददाद्बालाय सेकं ततो
देव्या स्वप्नविबोधितोऽस्य तनयस्यैतन्मुखेनास्त्विति ॥
T.A.V., XII, p. 430.
3. श्रीचक्राय ददौ द्विजः स भगवान्नुर्वीधरोऽस्मिन्नसौ ।
श्रीचक्रात् स्वपितृक्रमाप्तमखिलं तत्साधिकारं व्यधात् ॥
Ibid., p. 431.
4. अथ स परमधामैकात्म्यमाप्ते गुरौ स्वं
निजगृहमुपनिन्ये तत्सुतं विश्वदत्तम् ।...
श्रीकनकदत्तविरचितदेवगृहाग्रे मठं निवासाय ।
कृत्वा ददौ स तस्मै स्थावरधनकनकसंपूर्णम् ॥
T.A.V., XII, p. 430,

secrets[1] or the text on which the former commented. The part of the text that contains this information is very defective, yet its sense may easily be derived. Soma, his father, is the terminal point of the tradition originating from Śivānanda.[2] Being the son of Soma or Somarāja, his time may be determined about 1100-1150 A.D.

(xxxiv) *Ramyadeva* (1100-1150 A.D.)

Ramyadeva is the most important author of his era. His *Vivaraṇa* on the *Bhāvopahāra* is undoubtedly a Krama work. Despite the fact that he is more inclined towards esotericism, his commentary does not lack in original flashes.[3] He has tried to point out the specific character of the Krama system.[4] An attempt has been made to take note of each contribution of his in its proper place.

In addition to his *Vivaraṇa* on the *Bhāvopahāra* he has written six other works as stated by him. The works are given below :

(i) *Akrama-kallola-kārikā*[5]
(ii) *Akulakālikā-trimśikā*[6]
(iii) *Śiva-rava-stotra*[7]

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1. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽद्य किमपि स्तुतो मया ।
C.G.C 4.125.

2. यः शिवात्प्रभृतिसोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।
C.G.C. 4.121.

3. *B.U.V.*, pp. 26, 31-32 etc.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 22, 23, 29, 38, 40, etc.

5. न ह्यक्रमानाख्यपरचिच्चक्रेश्वरीसमुदये कालो नाम कश्चित् उपपद्यते ।
तदुक्तं मयैवाक्रमकल्लोलकारिकासु—
Ibid., p. 4.

6. योऽयम् अनारावरावो रावसंघट्टकतया
त्वामजामकृतपंचकारणद्रावणोड्डमरधामभैरवीम् ।
स्तौम्यनाहतहतव्यतिक्रमस्फाररावकृतवीरघट्टनाम् ॥
इत्याद्यस्मद्विरचिताकुलकालिकात्रिंशिकोक्तस्वरूपः ।
Ibid., p. 8; also
उक्तं च मयैवाकुलकालिकात्रिंशिकायाम्—
Ibid., p. 38.

7. यदुक्तं मयैव शिवरवस्तोत्रे—
B.U.V., p. 10.

(iv) *Cakreśvara-bhairavāṣṭaka*[1]

(v) *Śiva-rātri-vicāra-vārttika*[2]

(vi) *Kṛtānta-tānti-śānti-stava*[3]

The third and sixth works are admittedly classed as stotras. The second and fourth are also possibly stotras as a close look into the extracts ascribed to them would reveal. The fifth seems, on the usual pattern, to be a commentary on the text entitled *Śivarātrivicāra*, which might be from his own pen or from somebody else's. We do not know. The first appears to be an independent work dealing with the Krama system.

According to the colophon[4] he was the son of Bhaṭṭa Jyogdeva and according to the closing verse of his commentary his teacher's name was Yogānanda.[5] He also cites a verse from his son[6] but does not give his name. From Maṅkha we know that his name was Losṭhadeva.[7] The fact that his son was mature enough so that his father might quote him leads one to think that Ramyadeva wrote this *Vivaraṇa* at quite an advanced age.

As has been hinted earlier, Ramyadeva was an older contemporary of Maṅkha. According to Maṅkha, Ramyadeva was a man of ascetic temperament. He had thorough command over Vedānta and his action bore the imprints of his thought. He was an extremely proficient and generous teacher. He was

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1. तदुक्तं मया चक्रेश्वरभैरवाष्टके—

Ibid., p. 29.

2. तदुक्तं मया शिवरात्रिविचारवार्तिके—

Ibid., pp. 33-34.

3. तदुक्तं मया कृतान्ततान्तिशान्तिस्तवे—

Ibid., p. 41.

4. इति श्रीचक्रपाणिनाथविरचिते भावोपहारस्तोत्रे विवरणं समाप्तम्, कृतिस्तत्रभवद्भट्ट-ज्योग्देवात्मजभट्टश्रीरम्यदेवस्य ॥

Ibid., p. 44.

5. योगानन्दाभिधानद्विजवरवदनायातपीठेशिदेवी-मादावद्योतिताज्ञप्रणयनजनितानन्तसोत्साहहर्षः ।

B.U.V., p. 44.

6. तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः ।

Ibid., p. 6.

7. *S.K.C.* 25.36.

specially at home in the *Kaṭhavallī* and was a successful exponent of the Vedānta text called *Iṣṭasiddhi*. These autobiographical touches no doubt lend special richness to Ramyadeva's manifold personality. It is strange that Maṅkha does not refer to Ramyadeva's attainments in Krama though he was fully conversant with the system.[1] Maybe Maṅkha is referring to that aspect only with which people were not so conversant, or else Maṅkha is taking note of only those aspects of the author's personality that won recognition in the intellectual circle. Both, Ramyadeva and his son Loṣṭhadeva, are mentioned in the company of Laṅkaka, Laṅkaṭa or Alaṁkāra, Maṅkha's elder brother.[2] Laṅkaka was a minister statesman under the king Sussala of Kashmir (1112-1127 A.D.).[3] The *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* refers to him as a man of martial achievements.[4] Maṅkha was an officer-in-charge of state administration under king Jayasiṁha, the son and successor of Sussala.[5] The reign of Jayasiṁha falls between 1126-1159 A.D. Thus the literary circle of his elder brother must have been a long affair spread over 1112-1159 A.D. Since Ramyadeva is mentioned along with his son, he must be of ripe age when an audience took place between him and Alaṁkāra. It would, therefore, be reasonable if he is assigned to the first half of the twelfth century.

(xxxv) *Loṣṭadeva* (1125-1175 A.D.)

As alluded to above, Ramyadeva quotes a passage from his son with marked overtones of the Krama system.[6] It is

1. *S.K.C.* 5.40
2. *Ibid.*, 25.26
3. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूबिडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिविग्रहे ।
   विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥
   Ibid., 3.62.
4-5. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।
   व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु ॥
   Ibid., 3.68.
6. निशाकान्तकला संहारदेवी तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः
   शिव शिवासनमूर्ध्नि सदा स्थिता विगतकालकलाकलनाक्रमा ।
   कृशतया कृशिमव्यपलापिनी जयति कापि कला विगतक्रमा ॥ इति ।
   B U.V., p. 6.

possible that his son might have written a treatise on Krama from which a passage has been cited by his father.

Although Ramyadeva does not disclose the name of his son, he is none other than Loṣṭhadeva. This information is furnished by Loṣadeva himself.[1] He was also known as Loṣṭaka. Being tortured by worldly trammels he diverted his attention from poetry to spiritualism. His work pertaining to Krama might be a product of this period.

Maṅkha has spoken highly of his linguistic accomplishment. He had a linguist's command over six languages and his speech and poetry were characterised by their flawless felicity and lucidity.[2] Several verses read in praise of Laṅkaka find place in the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* and they betray a real poetic flavour in his utterances.[3] He is credited with writing a stotra entitled *Dinākrandanastotra* which has been brought out by Nirnayasagar Press in the Part VI of the Kāvyamālā series. Towards the close of his life he went to Vārāṇasī, turned ascetic and renounced the world. The stotra gives powerful expression to the pangs of his disillusioned heart pining for the spiritual ultimate. He ultimately gets peace and in a tranquil mood refers to his achievement.[4] Jalhaṇa, in his

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1. इतिपरिहृतवान्स्वकाव्यशिल्पप्रकटनमाकुलितो भवव्यथाभिः ।
व्यधित गिरिश रम्यदेवजन्मा तव पुरतो हठदैन्यतः प्रलापान् ॥
Dīnākrandana Stotra, verse 50.

2. वाग्देवतालिनीलीलाधुतपक्षतिचातुरीम् ।
वदनाम्बुरुहे यस्य भाषाः षडधिशेरते ॥
खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्मसु ।
प्रोद्यचोद्यमया दूरे कुण्ठिता इव पत्रिणः ॥
कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्यापि मुखतोऽशृणोत् ।
श्रीलंककं प्रति प्रोतचारुचाटुरसा गिरः ॥
S.K.C. 25,34-36.

3. *Ibid.*, 25.37-47.

4. अभ्रंशे जन्म वंशे सुमहति विहितो वाङ्मयाब्धौ हनूम-
त्संरम्भो दानभोगौ तदनु च रचितौ किंचिदौचित्यरीत्या ।
ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं यतित्वं श्रितमथ मथिता संसृतिर्दुर्निवारा
वाराणस्यां प्रसन्ना स्थितिरिति कृतिनः किं न मे नाम सिद्धम् ॥
Dīnākrandana Stotra, verse 52.

Sūktimuktāvalī, attributes a verse to Loṣṭadeva.[1] It, therefore, goes without saying that he was equally gifted in language, literature and philosophy and it is a misfortune that his works, either on Krama or other systems, have not survived the atrocities of time

(xxxvi) *Śrīvatsa : Author of the Cidgaganacandrikā* (1125-75 A.D.)

The time of the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* is not so puzzling as his identity. The *Candrikā* is a commentary described as *Pañcikā* by him, on the *Krama Stotra* of Siddhanātha. And in autobiographical references he too introduces himself as Kālidāsa.[2] The proposition ascribing the *Candrikā's* authorship to Kālidāsa has been reiterated and echoed several times.[3] In addition, the last line of the second opening verse is practically the same as the last line of the opening verse of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.[4] These factors have led the editor of the Calcutta edition of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* to concede its authorship to Kālidāsa.[5] Karra Agnihotra Sastri, the erudite modern commentator on the text, fully endorses the

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1. प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता।
मया शरासनेनेव वाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥

Quoted, *Kāvyamālā*, Part VI, p. 21, fn. 1.

2. मुक्तमेव न मया मयोचितः प्रेरितोऽस्मि तव र्वात्तनी त्वया (?) ।
सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पञ्चिकाम् ॥

C.G.C. 4. 4.126.

3. इह कालिदासचन्द्रप्रसूतिरानन्दिनी स्तुतिर्व्याजात् ।
चिद्गगनचन्द्रिकाब्धेः शमयतु संसारदावदवथुं वः ॥

Ibid., 4.137.

कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितस्तत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः ।

Ibid., 4.127.

केवलं तदनुवर्णनेऽप्युमे त्वन्मुदे तदपि दासजल्पितम् ।

Ibid., 4.93.

4. सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ।

C.G.C. 1.2.

5. ...सुस्पष्टं स्वीयमभिधानं प्रकटीकृतं कालिदास इति। अत एवास्य कर्ता कालिदास इत्यसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

C.G.C., Sanskrit Introduction, p. 2.

views of Svami Trivikrama Tirtha, the editor of the Calcutta edition. Besides, Sastri advances a few more arguments in favour of his contention.[1] As his entire methodology consists in finding analogues between the present and the original Kālidāsa and interpreting them to suit his convictions, it is not very relevant for us to go into whole of it here. However, to cite an instance, he finds an implicit reaffirmation of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala's* eightfold Purīs in the eightfold structure of the Vṛnda-cakra. Even to the last verse, where the name of some Śrīvatsa occurs, he accords an entirely mystic interpretation taking him as a crest of meaning called Śrīvatsa. This is the verse which is of key importance in connection with the authorship-issue. The only difference between Sastri and Trivikrama Tīrtha revolves round the identity of this Kālidāsa. The former insists that the present Kālidāsa is identical with the original one,[2] while the latter is prepared to concede to the existence of some later Kālidāsa who seems to have flourished before Abhinavagupta.[3]

The testimony of the tradition also lends weighty support to the present thesis. The passages from the *Cidgaganacandrikā* quoted by Bhāskararāya in his commentary famed as *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* have been acknowledged by him to be the assertions of Kālidāsa occasionally with reference to the name of this text.[4] Similarly, Sastri has invoked the support of a Tantric text called *Hṛdayacandrikā* by Kavi Cakravartin which explicitly identifies the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* with Kālidāsa.[5] But it must be frankly stated that a host of scholars, who have profusely quoted from the text in

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1. *C.G.C.* with the *Divyacakorikā*, (first part of the Introduction), I, pp. 2-4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3. *C.G.C.*, Calcutta, p. 3. (Skt. Int.).
4. *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, pp. 26, 52, 82, 153, 157, 161.
5. वाङ्मयामृतनिधिः प्रकाशते कालिदास इति कोऽपि चन्द्रमाः ।
   येन चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका कृता हृद्गुहासु सुधियां हृतं तमः ।
   Quoted, *C.G.C.* with *D.C.*, I, p. 3. (introd.).

question, have maintained complete silence over its authorship. Among these are Maheśvarānanda,[1] Amṛtānandanātha[2] and Kaivalyāśrama.[3]

A modern student, however, finds it difficult to swallow the claim for the original Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Cidgagana-candrikā.* To begin with, the author mentions some Śiva as a pioneer of the preceptorial line, Cakrabhānu as an eminent teacher and Soma as the concluding figure of the lineage to which the author pledges his allegiance. The author received his tuitions in Krama from the son of Soma. It simply means that he is not the legendary Kālidāsa, but a different person. Cakrabhānu and Somarāja, and for that matter his son, more or less have a definite chronological status that puts them within a century's bracket running from 1050 to 1150 A.D. as they come in preceptorial hierarchy. Even the earliest limit cannot go beyond the tenth century, because the author of the *Krama Stotra* i.e., Siddhanātha, belongs to the first half of the tenth century. But since the author maintains direct doctrinal and scholastic affiliation to Cakrabhānu etc , his date need not be pushed back from the point of actual occurrence which falls in the vicinity of the temporal bracket mentioned above. Besides, the earliest references made to this work are by Maheśvarā-nanda who belongs to the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore his date cannot be advanced either, barring the modifications by a margin of 25 to 50 years on each side. Had he flourished much earlier, the early texts could not afford to ignore him altogether. Therefore, on every count, the present author is different from the great poet.

Coming to the other aspect of the question, let us try to find out who this Kālidāsa was.

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1. *M.M.P.*, pp. 27, 53, 71, 73, 93, 94, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 110, 124, 130, 154, 167.
2. *Y.H.D.*, pp. 11, 18, 94, 132, 144, 179.
3. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 4.

The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* in the last verse gives out his name as Śrīvatsa in unmistakable[1] tone. Kālidāsa seems to be his honorific title and not his actual name, according to his own statement.[2] Owing to the grace of Mother Divine his unique literary and spiritual accomplishment fetched him this valued title. However, from the historical perspective, many authors have quite frequently allowed to envelop their true personalities due to this practice in India. In order to cater to his vanity it has been natural for an author to emphasise his title as compared with his name.

The present thesis with regard to the *Candrikā's* authorship becomes more convincing, if something with regard to the historicity of the author named Śrīvatsa be available. Fortunately, exactly during this period, one Śrīvatsa arrests one's attention. Maṅkha refers to a pair of the two celibates namely Bhuḍḍa and Śrīvatsa[3] in course of his description of the literary circle of his brother and heaps an exceedingly high praise on both of them for unparalleled poetic richness and beauty of their verses—as if the Goddess Muse herself put a stamp on the wealth of their poetic art. Maṅkha, being a contemporary of king Jayasiṃha (1127-1151 A.D.) is ascribed to the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. Śrīvatsa, too, therefore, would belong to the same period. Since (i) this Śrīvatsa and the author of the *Candrikā* flourished on an almost synchronous point of time, and (ii) Śrīvatsa, the author of the *Candrikā*, has the title of Kālidāsa[4] for his poetic brilliance

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1. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद्भावस्तवमादरात् ।
वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ।
C.G.C. 4.134.

2. कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितः त्वत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः ।
Ibid., 4.127.

3. यावाविष्कुरुतो वक्त्रमुरुचन्दनपुण्ड्रकम् ।
मुद्रितं सूक्तिदेव्येव कोषं काव्यकलाश्रियः ॥
भुड्डश्रीवत्सनामानौ सूरी सब्रह्मचारिणौ ।
वाक्यैर्जितामृतस्वादैः सादरं तावभाषताम् ॥
S.K.C., 25.81-82.

4. Cf. fn. 2 above.

and ingenuity like his illustrious counterpart hailed for his poetic achievements, it will not be entirely unfounded to treat the two as identical.

The necessary corollaries that follow in the wake of such proposition are that the author of the *Candrikā* was Śrīvatsa, identical with his namesake referred to by Maṅkha, who made this attempt for the welfare of mankind. He was known as Kālidāsa for his literary genius. The verse containing the line from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is spurious and a later interpolation. He was a pupil of Soma's son who perhaps was also known as Gupta.[1] He belonged to Pūrṇapīṭha, the centre of his spiritual activity, where he wrote this *Pañcikā* on the *Krama Stotra*.[2] The whole work, according to the author, comprises three hundred and nine verses in traiṣṭubha metre.[3] However, there are in all three hundred and twelve verses in the printed edition and the first two verses are not in the above metre. Thus the total number of verses in the above metre amounts to three hundred and ten and if the last verse pertaining to the author himself is excluded, the total corresponds to the figure mentioned by the author.

But it is doubtful that the original text has come down to us in full, because a few verses quoted by Kaivalyāśrama,[4] Amṛtānandanātha[5] are not traceable to the printed text.

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1. गुप्तभाषितजगद्विजृम्भणा मन्त्रतां भजसि तत्त्वमम्ब या ।
C.G.C. 4.36.
व्यक्तिमत्तदितरक्रमप्रथा गुप्तकृत्क्षतबहिर्जगत्क्रमः ।
निर्गतोऽथ सुमहार्थजृम्भितः संभृतौ जननि तेऽन्वयः क्रमः ॥
Ibid., 3.92.
2. पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकृते मया कृतः ।
C.G.C, 4.128.
3. कालवर्षिणि शतैस्त्रिभिः स्तुतिं तावकीमिह नवोत्तरैः कृताम् ।
त्रैष्टुभैरहरहः परामृशन् कालचक्रमतियन् प्रसीदति ॥
Ibid., 4.130-131.
4. अम्ब तावकपदद्वयार्चकस्त्वमन्यो(?)भवति नात्र विस्मयः ।
यस्त्वयैव विवशो वशीकृतः शक्तिरेव समभूच्छिवः स्वयम् ॥
Quoted, *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 4.
5. भावनागममतीन्द्रियं च यल्लक्ष्यमुक्तम् ।
Quoted, *Y.H.D.*, p. 179.

(xxxvii) *Ojarāja* (1125-1175 A.D.)

He was probably an authority on the *Devīpañcaśatika*, a recognized āgama on the Krama system. With regard to the portion of the text dealing with the importance of the "final seed" (Antya Bīja), he differed from the usual interpretation owing to a variation in the reading of the text.[1] This is the only information available about him at present. Since this view was conveyed to Jayaratha by his teacher, Ojarāja might have been a predecessor or contemporary of the former's teacher. His date is quite uncertain. He may, tentatively, be placed during the period 1125-1175 A.D. due to his priority to Jayaratha's teacher. We are completely ignorant about other aspects of his personality.

(xxxviii) *Śivānanda II* (1125-1175 A.D) : *Grand Teacher of Maheśvarānanda*

The contribution of the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda is so vivid, rich, versatile and profound that it is difficult to find a like of him in the post-Kṣemarāja period save, perhaps, Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha. The only drawback that has obscured his exuberant personality is the non-availability of his works in print. In him one is able to trace a systematic development of the post-Kṣemarāja form of the Krama system for which Maheśvarānanda fully leans on him. And it is really strange, when the Krama philosophy was moving towards its slow but gradual decay in Kashmir, Maheśvarānanda and his teachers kindled the fire in full blaze in Cola, the modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kāverī. One may, in other words, still say that their contribution was immense and so powerful that they succeeded in evolving a sort of Southern school of the Krama system—though it is not stated nor claimed anywhere. The thirteen-deity or not-twelve-deity doctrine, the extra emphasis on the five-fold functional dynamism of the Absolute, the sixtyfive mystic aspects of the Vṛnda Cakra, and induction

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1. अन्त्यस्य च अस्य बीजस्य...इत्यादिना श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिके माहात्म्यमुक्तम् । अत्र च श्रीमदोजराजस्य पाठव्यत्यासात् मतान्तरमिति तद्गुरव एव प्रमाणम् ।

T A.V., XII, p. 197.

of greater esotericism in the body metaphysic of the Krama system in common with other cognate tantric creeds are the chief features of this school.

Except once, Maheśvarānanda does not refer to his grand teacher, Śivānanda, by name.[1] That he is doing so is itself established on going through the collateral evidence. He, however, ascribes the following works to his grand-teacher :

(i) *Ṛjuvimarśinī*[2]
(ii) *Krama-Vāsanā*[3]
(iii) *Subhagodaya*[4]
(iv) *Saubhāgyahṛdaya*[5]
(v) *Saṁvit Stotra*[6]
(vi) *Tripurasundarīmandira Stotra.*[7]

Of these the first and third works namely, the *Ṛjuvimarśinī*[8] and the *Subhagodaya*, are extant even today. Their manuscripts in Malayalam characters are available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum. The *Subhagodaya*[9] is a Tripurā work and Sivānanda Yogī is the author of the text according to the concluding verses.[10] The *Ṛjuvimarśinī*[11] purports to be a commentary on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava Tantra*[12] on the lines of

1. तद्व्युदासेन बहुभिः श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकशिमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतियोगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादेनोपभुज्यमानत्वात् ।
   M.M.P., p. 134.
2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 112, 123, 129, 178, 193.
3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 115, 117.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 73.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
8. The *Ṛjuvimarśinī* has since been brought out under Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamālā by the Research Institute, Sanskrit University, Varanasi. It was under preparation while the present work was in progress.
9. MS. No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B, *vide* DCSMCOL, Trivandrum, V. p. 1916-1917.
10. शिवानन्द महायोगी सुभगोदयमब्रवीत् ।
   MS No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B.
11. MS. No. 878D, C.O.L. No. 690D., *Ibid.*, p. 1920.
12. व्याकरोमि मनाक् श्रीमन्नित्याषोडशिकार्णवम् ।
   Ibid., p. 1921.

the Lopāmudrā sect of the Tripurā system.[1] Its author is Sivānanda and his teacher is Svātmānanda.[2] The third work i.e., *Krama-vāsanā* also passes in the name of the *Subhagodaya-vāsanā*. Its manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the Madras Government and the Kerala University.[3] The fourth work e.g., *Saubhāgya-hṛdayastotra* is available in manuscript in the library of BORI, Poona.[4] Both of these works have been taken note of by Maheśvarānanda,[5] the *Yogini-hṛdaya-dīpikā*[6] and the *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa-cidvallī*.[7] According to Dwivedi, the *Śāmbhavaikya-dīpikā* too is a work by Sīvānanda and its incomplete manuscript is in the Madras Government Library.[8] Maheśvarānanda refers twice to this work but is silent about its authorship.[9]

Before adverting to the question of his time one is called upon to answer an important problem whether Śivānanda can be credited with the authorship of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*) as well. As will be realized later, a correct answer will necessarily reduce complexity of the riddle.

The authorship of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* is clouded in mystery, as nowhere in the body of the text itself one finds any reference whatever to its author. But the author makes it absolutely clear that he has written some more works[10] as the secrets of the Krama discipline cannot, for fear of corruption and

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1. लोपामुद्राक्रमायातसम्प्रदायादयं पुनः ।
अकरोदागमस्यास्य व्याख्यामृजुविमर्शिनीम् ॥
Ibid.
2. इति श्रीमहामहेश्वराचार्यस्वात्मानन्दनाथशिष्याचार्यशिवानन्दनाथविरचितनित्याषोडशिकार्णवसूत्रविचारिणी ऋजुविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा ।
Ibid., p. 1923.
3-4. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च,
S.Su. XX-2, p. 25.
5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 13, 73.
6. *Y.H.D.*, p. 68.
7. *K.V.V.*, (C), pp. 5, 18; 36, 41, 43, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64.
8 *S.Su.* XX-2, p. 25.
9. *M.M.P.*, pp. 18, 167.
10. तत् प्रपञ्चितमन्यत्र यदतः साम्प्रतं मनाक् ।
M.P.(*T*). 1.34

complacence, be put together at one place and only those who are well conversant with the antecedents and consequents of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* can appreciate its teaching fully.[1] It is against this background that he refers to the *Saṁvit-stotra* in respect of certain doctrines.[2] And in the end of the printed text he attributes the authorship of the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka,* too, to himself.[3] It is to be noted here that one of these texts i.e., *Saṁvit-stotra,* has been attributed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. The other work i.e., the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka,*[4] as well as the *Mahānayaprakāśa*[5] have been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda. Many of the passages ascribed to the *Mahānayaprakāśa* are traceable to the printed text.[6] But quite a few of them[7] could not be located in the printed form. This simply goes to prove that the present text as printed is incomplete. It is, no doubt, bewildering that Maheśvarānanda, who is so scrupulous in referring to his teacher or grandteacher even where there is no occasion, should maintain reticence over the authorship of these important texts. In the first instance it appears that these works have a different author. But on the second look one may probably have to revise one's opinion. The reasons for this may be set forth below:

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1. परं रहस्यं कथितं किञ्चित् किञ्चित् क्वचित् क्वचित् ।
सर्वं समयभीरुत्वान्नैकत्रैव प्रकाश्यते ॥
महानयप्रकाशेऽस्मिन् ये पूर्वापरवेदिनः ।
हस्तामलकवत् तेषां वस्तुतत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥
Ibid., 6.23-24

2. स्तोत्रकारस्येदमेव स्थितं चेतसि यज्जगौ ।
संवित्स्तोत्रैः समालोकप्रमाणार्थंप्रमात् (दः?)तः ॥
M.P.(T)., 6.27.

3. एतदर्थानुसारेण स्तोत्रभट्टारके मया ।
स्फुटं ये विवृताः श्लोकास्तत्... ॥
Ibid., 9.69.

4. *M.M.P.*, pp. 104-5, 116, 127, 131.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 85, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 104, 120, 179, 182.
6. *M.P.(T).* 1 4, 32; 7.127-128, 175; 9.4-5, 50-51, 67-68.
7. *M.M P.*, pp. 85, 87-88, 94-96, 99, 101-2, 104.

(i) The author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* and the *Stotra Bhaṭṭāraka* is the same, because the former uses the word "mayā" (by me) with reference to the latter.

(ii) Although the reference to the *Saṁvit-stotra* is not accompanied by the word "mayā" or the like, it comes from the same pen—, contextual evidence lends enough support to it.

(iii) The *Saṁvit-stotra* has been ascribed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. Hence, by implication, these two works should also be credited to the same authorship.

(iv) Maheśvarānanda's reticence with regard to the two works is suggestive, yet it is not necessarily a negative gesture. Because in the case of the *Śāmbhavaikya-dīpikā* it was pointed out that it is also a work of Śivānanda, the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, in spite of the fact that he (Maheśvarānanda) keeps silent about its authorship, too.

(v) The work named *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* cannot be dismissed as spurious[1] since (a) it has been quoted by Maheśvarānanda as well as Jayaratha[2] besides Śivānanda, and (b) there is complete correspondence between the *Mahānayaprakāśa* and the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* on the issues e.g., the thirteen Kālīs, unity of Prakāśa and Ānanda, Mantra as Supreme awareness, etc.[3]

(vi) Śivānanda in his *Ṛjuvimarśinī* has elevated Prākṛta as the official language of the Tripurā school. This view was endorsed and its application extended to the Krama system by Maheśvarānanda.[4] There is an unmistakable evidence to suggest that the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* was written originally in vernacular (Bhāṣayā

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1. *Abhi.*, pp. 478-479.
2. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 223.
3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 105, 116, 127.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

i.e., in Prākṛta).[1] This coincidence lends a further support to the alleged identity of the authors of the *Ṛjuvimarśinī* with that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa.*

(vii) Even if, for a second, this authorship-equation is not granted there is absolutely no doubt that both—the author of the *Saṁvit-stotra*, as well as that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*—occupy the same point on chronological scale because the author of the latter refers to the former and the grandson of the author of the former refers to the latter. In fact this historical coincidence in point of time is additional evidence in favour of the present contention establishing identity of the two.

In this connection one may agree with Dr. Pandey[2] in rejecting the ascription of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* to Abhinavagupta by Sambasiva Sastri.[3] The contention is utterly untenable in the face of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* clearly betraying the influence of Kṣemarāja.[4]

Let us now revert to the period of Śivānanda. The latest author referred to by Śivānanda is Kṣemarāja in the *Ṛjuvimarśinī.*[5] The books referred to are the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* and *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya Sūtra.* The precise implication is that Kṣemarāja marks Śivānanda's upper time-limit. Amṛtānanda, the author of the *Dīpikā* on the *Yoginī Hṛdaya* and a pupil of Puṇyānanda, refers to the *Subhagodayavāsanā* (i.e., *Krama-vāsanā*) of Śivānanda.[6] Although Amṛtānanda's time has not been finally

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1. गीतं पुराणाधिष्ठानं भाषया यत्तदुत्तमम् ।

   M.P.(T). 1.12.

2. *Abhi.*, p. 477.
3. *M.P.(T)*, Int., p. 2 (Skt. Int.)
4. For instance, see

   अत्रोच्यते यदुक्तं तु विश्वोत्तीर्णचितिः कथम् ।
   सञ्चेत्यत समाविश्य विश्वानुभवभूमिकाम् ॥

   M.P.(T). 3.17.

5. साम्बमिश्रपञ्चाशिकाविवृतिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यः ।

   Ṛjuvimarśinī, p. 229.

Y.H.D., p. 68.

settled the general opinion among the scholars is to place him somewhere in the twelfth century.[1] This may form the lower limit of Śivānanda's emergence. It is extremely significant to note that Jayaratha refers to two works of Śivānanda namely, the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahānayaprakāśa*. The first is mentioned with explicit reference to the title of the text.[2] A passage is cited[3] from the other without disclosing the source, but the same is found in the *Mahānayaprakāśa*.[4] It is quoted as a *prima facie* view propounding the thesis of the thirteen Kālīs against that of Jayaratha's Kālī-theory. Jayaratha's time is almost certain. His father Śṛṅgāraratha was a court-minister of king Rājarāja who is identified with the king Jayasiṁha (1127-1151 A.D.). Hence he, in any case, must be active during the second half of the twelfth century (1150-1200 A.D.). Thus Śivānanda cannot be brought below this period, i.e., 1150-1200 A.D. Kṣemarāja, who constitutes upper limit, is assigned to about 975-1025 A.D. The gap can be reduced further, Maheśvarānanda refers to the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of which the probable time is almost settled. It is put around 1125-1175 A.D. Maheśvar-

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1. *Y.H.D.*, p. ṅa. (Skt. Int.).

2. अत एव श्रीस्तोत्रभट्टारकेऽपि
   कालानलाद्व्योमकलावसानं चिन्त्यं जगद्ग्रासकलालयेन ।
   चक्रं महासंहृतिरूपमुग्रं गतं चिदाकाशपदस्थमित्थम् ॥
   इत्यादिना संहारक्रमेणैव अस्योदयः उक्तः ।
   T.A.V., III, p. 223.

3. ननु अस्याः परस्याः संविदोऽन्यैरनयैव भङ्ग्या त्रयोदशात्मकत्वमुक्तम्,
   यदुक्तम्—एकं स्वरूपरूपं हि मानमेयप्रमातृतः ।
   सर्गावतारसंहारमयीराक्रम्य वर्तते ॥
   स्वस्वरूपानुगुण्येन प्रत्येकं कलनावशात् ।
   सृष्टिस्थित्यादिभिर्भेदैश्चतुर्धा ता अपि स्थिताः ॥
   कालग्रासान्तमुदयाच्चतुर्धा विभवो हि यः ।
   तस्य विश्रान्तिरेकैव ततो देव्यस्त्रयोदश ॥
   अनाख्यचक्रे प्राधान्यात् पूजनीयतया स्थिताः । इति।
   इह च द्वादशकत्वमुच्यते इति किमेतत् ।
   Ibid.

4. *M.P.(T).*, 9.15-18.

ānanda is the grand pupil of Śivānanda. It is, therefore, necessary that whatever probable period of Śivānanda's existence one may arrive at, it must account for both of them. Śivānanda is removed from Maheśvarānanda only by a generation. Since the latter refers to the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, his upper limit must be determined by this fact, that is, Maheśvarānanda cannot belong to an earlier period than 1125-1175 A.D. On the other hand, Śivānanda, by virtue of his being alluded to by Jayaratha, is not supposed to cross the period 1150-1200 A.D. In other words the upper limit of Śivānanda does not extend beyond 1075-1125 A.D. (As it is 1125-1175 A.D. for Maheśvarānanda) The lower limit of Śivānanda is almost decided, as noted above. Hence Śivānanda must flourish somewhere between 1075-1125 A.D. to 1125-1200 A.D. In order that Jayaratha might be able to refer to him he must be placed, at least by a generation above Jayaratha i.e., 1125-1175 A.D. He may, therefore be assigned to the second and third Quarter of the twelfth century. This also satisfactorily accounts for both of them, the grandteacher and his grand pupil, as will be clear from the following table :

Śivānanda (1125-1175 A.D.)
Mahāprakāśa (1150-1200 A.D.)
Maheśvarānanda (1175-1225 A.D.).

In this case Maheśvarānanda does not ascend beyond 1125-1275 A.D. on the upper side and Śivānanda does not descend below 1150-1175 A.D. on the lower side.

Now his system-wise contribution may be detailed in the form of the following table :

Tripurā system	*Indefinite*	*Krama system*
1. *Ṛjuvimarśinī*	1. *Śāmbhavaikya-dīpikā.*	1. *Mahānaya-prakāśa.*
2. *Kramavāsanā* (*or Subhagodayavāsanā*)		2. *Stotra-Bhaṭṭāraka*
3. *Subhagodaya*		3. *Saṁvit-stotra*
4. *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*		
5. *Tripura-sundarīmandira-stotra.*		

For reasons of space we are constrained to leave out the detailed discussion on each work.

(xxxix) *Mahāprakāśa* (1150-1200 A.D.)

Mahāprakāśa is the esteemed teacher of Maheśvarānanda[1] and himself a disciple of Śivānanda. His time, therefore, ceases to be a problem and he is assigned to the latter half of the twelfth century.

Maheśvarānanda has paid glowing tributes to his wide erudition, profound scholarship and spiritual achievements.[2] It was upon his interpretation of the dream and inspiration that Maheśvarānanda took to writing of the *Mahārtha-mañjarī*.[3]

He had traditional insight into the Mahārtha system which came direct to him through his teacher and which he passed on to his illustrious pupil.[4] He is described as an author of the tantric treatises (Tantrakṛt), though none of his works is physically extant. All his works are accessible only in the form of extracts therefrom in the *Parimala*. He was a prolific author of the Stotras, three of which have been brought to our notice by *Parimala*. His *Mātaṅgīstotra* probably dealt with the concept of Śuddha-vidyā.[5] His another stotra was the *Ānandatāṇḍavavilāsa-stotra* pertaining to the Absolute

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1. नत्वा नित्यशुद्धौ गुरोश्चरणौ महाप्रकाशस्य ।
ग्रथ्नाति महार्थमञ्जरीमिमां सुरभि महेश्वरानन्दः ॥
M.M. 1.

2. तच्च तत्त्वविदं लोके वेदशास्त्रकलास्वपि ।
महार्थसिन्धुमन्थानं श्रावयामास देशिकम् ॥
M.M.P., p. 199.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

5. यदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः श्रीमातङ्गीस्तोत्रे —
स्तना घनौ पूर्णसुधौ सुकान्ती तवेशि नन्दामि परस्पराभौ ।
स्थिता समानाधिकृतौ सुविद्ये समौ तवैवाहमिदम्प्रकाशौ ।
Ibid., p. 44.

freedom as the cosmic principle of causation.[1] The third stotra i.e., *Manonuśāsana-stotra* dealt with the principle of mind as a unique sense-instrument.[2] His greatest contribution, however, was Maheśvarānanda himself.

(xl) *Jayaratha* (1150-1200 A.D.)

The name of Jayaratha is a milestone in the history of the Krama thought. His commentary on the first, fourth, thirteenth and twenty-ninth Āhnikas of the *Tantrāloka* is not only a monument of the Krama culture and philosophical discipline but also a repository of the innumerable historical allusions without which the Krama history would have suffered in accuracy, precision and vastness. The last verse of his *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* proclaims him to be a thinker of profound merit and matchless standing in Krama in addition to all the then important branches of learning.[3] And it is not a boastful or conceited statement, since it is well known that his contribution covers a vast field ranging from all the schools under Kashmir Śaivism and Tripurā System to literature. In Krama, he is proud of the fact that he directly came in the preceptorial lineage of Bhānuka, a student of Keyūravatī.[4] He

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1. यच्चोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिरानन्दताण्डवविलासस्तोत्रे —
वयं त्विमां विश्वतयावमानं बहिर्मुखस्यास्य तवोन्मुखस्य ।
स्वसंहितं विश्वविलापनोद्यत्स्वतन्त्रतानन्दमयीं नमामः ॥
M.M.P., p. 166.

2. तदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिर्मनोनुशासनस्तोत्रे—
हंसाः पतन्ति गगने प्रविसार्यं पक्षौ स्वौ सर्वदेव किल मानसराजहंस ।
अत्यद्भुता तव गतिर्गगने परस्मिन् विक्षेपशून्यमयपक्षयुगं विहाय ।
Ibid, p. 12 ; also see pp. 46, 94.

3. पदे वाक्ये माने निखिलशिवशास्त्रोपनिषदि
प्रतिष्ठां यातोऽहं यदपि निरवद्यं जयरथः ।
तथाप्यस्यामङ्ग क्वचन भुवि नास्ति त्रिकदृशि
क्रमार्थे वा मत्तः सपदि कुशलः कश्चिदपरः ॥
T.A.V., VII, pp- 434-35.

4. तस्यैव (भानुकस्य) चैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भट्टादिनानागुरुपरिपाटीसन्ततिः यत्प्रसादासादित-महिमाभिरस्माभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।
T.A.V., III, pp. 192-93.

was, equally, conversant with the other tradition headed by Govindarāja.[1] And, in addition, his familiarity with the southern scholars[2] goes to evince the vast realm of Krama practically covered by him. Jayaratha probably understood the value of viewing a scholar, for fuller apprcciation, against his historical background. He, therefore, provides us with a sufficiently detailed account of his ancestral as well as preceptorial lineage which may be given in these tables.[3] (see pp. 211, 212)

From these tables it may be clear that his time poses no difficulty. The dates of his three ancestors are known. From Utpalaratha II (1028-63 A.D.) he is away by four generations and from Śivaratha (1101-11 A.D.) he is separated by three generations. Śṛṅgāraratha, his father and a minister of Rājarāja, who is generally identified with king Jayasiṁha (1127-1151 A D.), is succeeded by him immediately. On the preceptorial plane, he is removed by two generations from Viśvadatta, his great-grand teacher and a younger contemporary of Utpalaratha II (1028-1063 A.D.), who brought the former up after the death of his father. After giving due allowance for the intervening generations, he may be safely assigned to the second half of the twelfth century (i.e.,1150-1200 A.D.). This is further confirmed by the fact that he in his *Vimarśinī* refers to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*[4] of Jayānaka. According to the general consensus of historians Pṛthvīrāja died in the year 1193 A.D. and before his death the work had been written. This is vindicated still further by the fact that Jayaratha wrote his *Vimarśinī* on the *Alaṁkāra Sarvasva* of Ruyyaka who was a senior

(*See p.* 211)

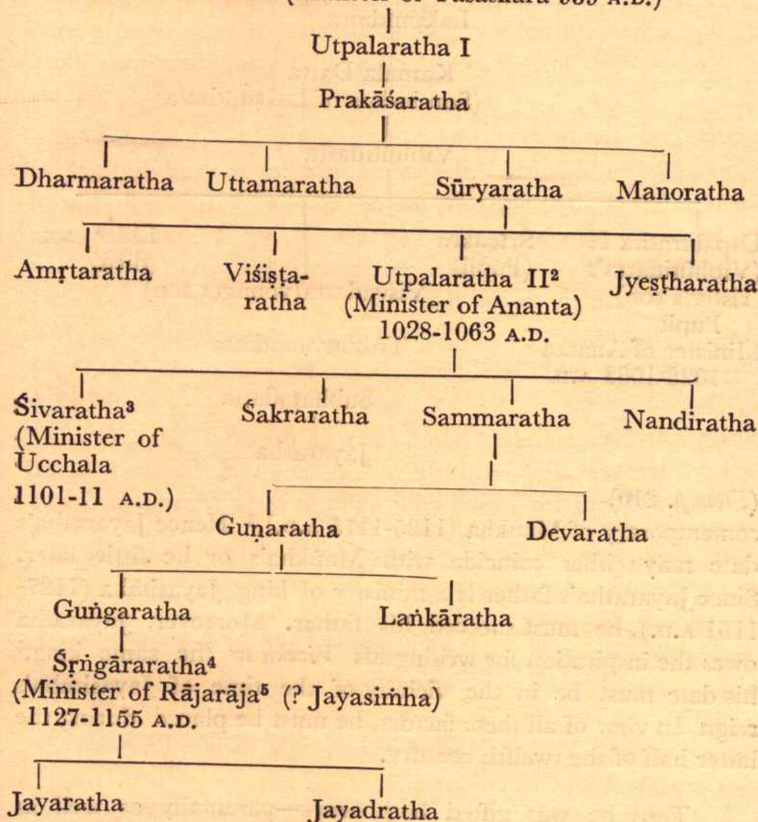
1. यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।
Ibid., p. 198.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 [quoting *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*)] and 223 (quoting *Stotra bhaṭṭāraka*).

3. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 430-433.

4. यथा पृथ्वीराजविजये—
गृह्णद्भिः परया भक्त्या बाणलिङ्गपरम्पराः ।
अनर्मदेव यत्सैन्यैर्निरमीयत नर्मदा ॥
Alaṁkāra-sarvasva-vimarśinī, p. 82.

I. *Parental Genealogy*



1. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 430, verse 8.
2. *Ibid.*, verse 13.
3. शिवराज्युत्सवे श्लोकममुं शिवरथाभिधः ।
   विद्वान् पठंस्तेन हठात्सर्वाध्यक्षो व्यधीयत ॥

   Rāj. T., VIII. V, 911.
4. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 432, verse 28 : Alaṁkāra-Sarvasva-Vimarśinī, p. 257.
5. We know of one Rājadeva (1213-1236 A.D.) also. But it is difficult to identify him with Rājarāja because, on the testimony of Jonarāja (Raj. Verse 74-87) he was just a usurper and had neither talents nor energy for asserting his authority (vide *Rāj.* of Jonarāja, pp. 56-57 V.V.R.I.). It is difficult to believe that such a king would have patronized Jayaratha. In addition, this equation will also lead to historical and chronological absurdities which it would be difficult to reconcile.

II. *Preceptorial Genealogy*[1]

Lakṣmīdatta
|
Kamala Datta
(Son-in-law of Lakṣmīdatta)
|
Vibhūtidatta
|

Utpalaratha II (Vibhūtidatta's sister's son) Pupil Minister of Ananta 1028-1063 A.D.

Śrīcakra (Pupil)

Viśvadatta (younger son)
|
Tribhuvanadatta
|
Subhaṭadatta
|
Jayaratha

Elder son (died)

(*From p.* 210)

contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.).[2] Hence Jayaratha's date may either coincide with Maṅkha's or be little later. Since Jayaratha's father is a minister of king Jayasiṁha (1127-1151 A.D.), he must succeed his father. Moreover, Jayaratha owes the inspiration for writing his *Viveka* to the same king,[3] his date must be in the vicinity of the time of Jayasiṁha's reign. In view of all these factors, he must be placed during the latter half of the twelfth century.

Thus he was gifted both ways—parentally as well as preceptorially. Even his younger brother Jayadratha is famous for his epic poem called *Haracarita-cintāmaṇi* and his stotra

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1. *T.A.V.*, XII, pp. 430-31, 433-34.

2. तं श्रीरुय्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्रयरसस्रोतःसंभेदमज्जनम् ॥
S.K.C., 25.30.

3. इह मम गतस्तत्त्वालोके विवेचयतो यतो
निरवधिमभिप्रेतोत्साहः स एव निमित्तताम् ।
T.A.V., XII, p. 432, v. 30.

called *Paridevitadvādaśikā*, still unpublished, but available in manuscript[1] in the library of Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. There is no ground for the identity of the two brothers as alleged in some quarters because Jayaratha makes it clear that he was the elder.[2]

He was son of Śṛṅgāraratha who carried out renovations of five buildings at the Mahādeva hill.[3] His initiation was performed by Subhaṭadatta[4] whose *Vivaraṇa* on the *Tantrāloka* proved a model for his *Viveka*.[5] In statecraft he owed his proficiency to his father's teacher Śṛṅgāra, son of Dāśirājānaka.[6] He received lessons in Śaivism and other āgamic lores from Kalyāṇa. His other teacher Śaṅkhadhara or Saṅgadhara imparted education in all other sciences including Grammar and Mīmāṁs.[7]

Coming to his works one finds that his creative genius almost covered all the fields and in this he is superseded only by his master Abhinavagupta. The *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* is

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1. Classification No. 175 (Bhakti).

2. ज्येष्ठोऽनयोरकार्षीत् तन्त्रालोके विवेकमिमम् ।

   T.A.V., XII, p. 434, v. 41.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 433; verse 37.

4. श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

   Ibid., verse 35.

5. व्यधुस्तन्त्रालोके किल सुभटपादा विवरणम् ।
   यदर्थं यश्चैभ्यो निखिलशिवशास्त्रार्थविदभूत् ॥

   Ibid., verse 39.

6. अप्यस्य राजतन्त्रे चिन्तयतो राजतन्त्रमास गुरुः ।
   दाशीराजानकजन्मा श्रीशृङ्गारो ममापि परमगुरुः ॥

   Ibid., verse 36.

7. श्रीशृङ्गाररथादवाप्य कृतिनो जन्मानवद्यक्रमं
   श्रीमच्छङ्खधरात्परं परिचयं विद्यासु सर्वास्वपि ।
   श्रीकल्याणतनोः शिवादधिगमं सर्वागमानामपि
   व्याख्यातं प्रथमाह्निकं जयरथेनाशावधेयं बुधैः ॥

   T.A.V., I, p. 310.

   Also see *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 433, verse 39-41.

a monument of his learning, but for which Abhinava would have been a mystery to us. On the Tripurā system he gave us *Vivaraṇa* which was a commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. On the rise and development of the Tripurā system in Kashmir no better source can be pointed out.

In the field of poetics he worte *Vimarśinī* on the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka and presented a model of constructive literary criticism to the later commentaries. Among his thoroughly original works he is credited with writing a work called *Alaṁkārodāharaṇa* that served as a preliminary to the studies in poetics by his grandson Saṅgaka. In the last verse of this work, he refers to his *Vimarśinī*.[1] There is a manuscript of it in the BORI Library, Poona.[2] Besides these, he composed a *Stotra* also[3], three verses from which are quoted by Śivopādhyāya in his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*.[4] Śivopādhyāya also cites his opinion on the natural Japa.[5] Jayaratha quotes from himself without specifying the source of his own statement in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata-vivaraṇa*.[6] On comparing the nature and versi-

1. प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेवैतद् इत्युपेक्ष्यं विचक्षणैः ।
अलंकारविमर्शिन्यां युक्तिरुक्तचरात्र यत् ॥
सङ्गकमुद्दिश्य निजं सत्यपि बाल्ये श्रुतार्थिनं पौत्रम् ।
अलिखन्निखिलालङ्कृतिसिद्धान्तं जयरथः स्फुटार्थपदम् ॥
Alaṁkārodāharaṇam, end. (MS)
2. MS. No. 240 of 1875-76 of Government Collection.
3. जयरथोऽपि एतद्रहस्यनयनिष्ठितानां तीर्थादिकमपि अनुपयुक्तमेवाह, यदुक्तं स्तोत्रे ।
V.Bh.V., p. 125.
4. बहुलमहसि बोधे प्रोच्छलत्येकरूपे जननमरणभाषां कातराः कल्पयित्वा ।
अविदितपरमार्थास्तीर्थदेवालयादिश्रयणमुपदिशन्तो हन्त नापत्रपन्ते ॥
oo oo oo
नयकलनया यस्योद्भूते विवेकपरामृते
तृणमिव न सा जीवन्मुक्तिर्गता गणनीयताम् ।
प्रमयसमये प्रत्यासन्ने स्वसंविदि संस्फुरन्
अभिलषति नैवान्त्येष्ट्याद्याः क्रियाः पशुकल्पिताः ॥
oo oo oo
प्राग्जन्मकोटिसमुपार्जितदुष्कृतौघखेदावहं कमपि पिण्डमवैति जन्तुः ।
ऊर्ध्वोर्ध्वशासनरतोऽपि गुरुर्मृताय तस्मै समर्पयति पिण्डमिति प्रमादः ॥
Ibid., pp. 125-126.
5. *Ibid.*. p. 138.
6. *V.M.V.*, p. 58.

cular style of the two passages, the likelihood of his having written another work or works on the Tripurā or other systems becomes stronger.

(xli) *Maheśvarānanda* (1175-1225 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda is one of the most prolific authors on the Krama system. His solitary extant work, the *Mahārathamañjari* with the *Parimala* on it, gives a clear idea of his deep insight into and enormous contribution to the Krama system. Like Jayaratha, he also claims a complete command over not only the *Pratyabhijñā Kārikās* and *Śivadṛṣṭi*, but also on the manifold secrets of the Krama philosophy.[1] He moved with equal felicity in the Kula system.[2] The very pattern on which the *Mahārthamañjari* moves, conforms to his synthetic approach to the Krama system by placing it in the overall perspective of the Kashmir Śaivism. This attempt of his reflects the impact of the *Tantrāloka* which marks an essay in synthesis and not in isolated analysis of the Trika systems.

His original name was Gorakṣa, but on his baptism he was named Maheśvarānanda[3] by his teacher. He is apparently different from his various namesakes in tantric philosophy.[4] The traditional Krama philosophy was inherited by him and he came direct in the line of the Krama teachers.[5] He hailed from Cola, modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kaveri (southern Mysore). He was the son of Madhu (Mādhava) and a devout pupil of Mahāprakāśa.[6] He became a consummate scholar in

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1. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्लासर्वसस्ववेदी ।
गुरुचरणसपर्याचातुरीचिद्घनोऽहं गहनमपि हृदन्तर्व्योम तद् व्याकरोमि ॥
M.M.P., p. 2.

2. इह महति रहस्योन्मूलने मङ्गलाय प्रभवति मम संविद्योगिनीनां प्रसादः ।
अपितु कुलसपर्याविम्बसंबन्धवन्ध्याः सकृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ॥
Ibid.

3. गोरक्षो लोकधिया देशिकृष्ट्या महेश्वरानन्दः ।
Ibid., p. 1.

4. *Abhi.*, p. 274.

5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 98, 99, 134, 197.

6. चोलास्ते सततोत्सवा जनपदाः श्लाघ्यो गुरुर्माधवो
रेतान्धाः(?)स्फटिकावदातहृदयो नाथः प्रकाशो महान् ।
Ibid., p. 202.

poetics after acquiring an insight into the *Kāvyāloka* of Ānandavardhana and the *Locana* by Abhinava.[1] Then he made his way into the Pratyabhijñā system. As a yogin he conducted successful experiments in spiritualism and consequently was a self-realized person.[2] Like Jayaratha, he has secured an enviable position, since he ensures a monolith of information for the historical reconstruction of the Kashmir Śaivism in general and the krama system in particular. As mentioned by him, he travelled far and wide in almost every direction before he took to writing the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[3]

He belongs to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (1175-1225 A.D.). One need not go into the reasons for it, since they have already been dwelt upon at length while discussing the period of his grand teacher Śivānanda.

Whatever contribution he has made to the Krama system or other fields is known today from references only made by himself in the *Parimala* commentary. So far we know of eleven works from his pen—

Name of work	*Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.*
1. *Mahārtha-mañjarī*	(Extant).
2. *Parimala*	(Extant).
3. *Pādukodaya*	11-12, 90, 99, 100, 103, 105, 112, 118, 149, 177.
4. *Saṁvidullāsa*	12, 23, 29, 32, 33, 78-9, 104, 111, 127, 137, 151, 152, 158-59, 172.
5. *Mahārthodaya*	108, 132.
6. *Sūkta*	59.

1. साहित्याब्धौ कर्णधारोऽहमासं काव्यालोकं लोचनं चानुशील्य ।
तद्वत् स्वच्छं लब्धवानस्मि बोधं पान्थो भूत्वा प्रत्यभिज्ञापदव्याम् ॥
Ibid.

2. समयानुप्रवेशमङ्गलमहाभिषेकसम्पत्संस्कारोपारोहप्रक्षालितमलोपलेपत्वात्,
औत्तराम्नायाद्यशेषशास्त्रार्थविबोधशिक्षाशालित्वात् ।
Ibid., p. 6.

3. अर्चयन् देवतां नित्यं जपन् ध्यायंश्च निश्चलम् ।
पर्यटंश्च दिशामन्तान् कालं कञ्चिदवाहयत् ॥
Ibid., p. 197.

Name of work	*Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.*
7. *Parāstotra*	77-78, 94, 107, 140, 148.
8. *Komalavallīstava*	53, 73, 75, 79, 89, 116, 123.
9. *Mukundakeli*	73.
10. *Kuṇḍalābharaṇa*	73.
11. *Nakhapratāpa*	73.

Perhaps, he has written certain other works in addition to the above. In the penultimate verse of the *Parimala* he has spoken of one *Krama* as his work.[1] We are not aware if the verse may be interpreted otherwise. For, the use of plural number in the word "Krama" coming at the end of Samāhāra-Dvandva compound should bear out the present observation. Even otherwise he cites a passage without indicating its source and ascribing it to himself.[2] The verse in question discusses the technical Krama concept of 'Gati'. It is again doubtful if the said verse is from the book suggested above. If this contention holds good, the number of his works goes upto twelve.

It appears that the *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī* is his last work, because it is here that the cognizance of these works is taken. It is, however, certain that *Mahārthamañjarī* was taken up immediately after his *Pādukodaya*.[3] On his own admission[4] we know that at least his five works namely, *Mahārthamañjarī* (and for the reason of that *Parimala*, too), *Pādukodaya*, *Komala-valli*-or *Komala-stava*, *Parāstuti* and *Krama* are strictly the Krama

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1. पादुकोदयमहार्थमञ्जरीकोमलास्तव परास्तुतिक्रमैः ।
स्फारयन् भुवि महार्थसंविदं देशिको विजयते महेश्वरः ॥
M.M.P. p. 203.

2. सृष्टयादिषु कृत्येषु इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्मकशक्तित्रयाङ्गीकारो गतिरिति ।
तदुक्तं मयैव—नैश्चिन्त्योत्कटमुच्चलन्नभिलषन् सर्वोत्तरं वर्तितुं
स्वस्मिन् भेदमभेदितेऽपि विमृशन् स्वात्माविशेषं स्फुरन् ।
अर्थानामुदयव्ययप्रकृतिभूरुच्छ्रायवानिच्छया
देवो दृक्क्रिययोः प्रदीप्तमहिमा भावेषु वो दीव्यतु ॥
Ibid., p. 180.

3. सद्यस्त्वद्वदनात् तस्मात्पादुकोदयशोधितात् ।
पुरातनागमप्रख्यो ग्रन्थः प्रख्यायतां महान् ॥
Ibid., p. 199.

4. Fn. 1 above.

texts. However, this list leaves out the *Mahārthodaya* which, too, is a Krama text as its very name implies and which primarily deals with rejuvenation of the respective deities and mantras.[1] His other two works namely, *Saṁvidullāsa* and *Sūkta*, are no doubt philosophical works and in a broad way echo the salient theses of the Kashmir Śaivism, but no information is at hand about their precise doctrinal associations. Regarding the rest of the works that comprise *Kuṇḍalābharaṇa, Mukundakeli* and *Nakhapratāpa*, the absence of extracts therefrom and Maheśvarānanda's wholesale taciturnity make it extremely difficult to be definite about them. But the contextual evidence does demonstrate his emphasis on the literary merit of these works.[2] Probably these were the pieces of literature. Although the *Komalavallistava* and *Parimala* have also figured in along with these, they have been shown to be Krama works.

The *Mahārthamañjarī* was the practical realization of a divine vision. The story has it that he was impelled by a Yoginī, in whom he visualized Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī, to undertake the writing of the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[3] Obviously, according to Prof. A.N. Upadhye, it is a composition of the Saptati or Saptati pattern.[4] Since the Yoginī, who appeared in dream used Prākṛta in expressing her will, he adopted Prākṛta in his *Mahārthamañjarī* though he does not betray the command on Prākṛta which he has on Sanskrit.[5] But philosophically it is a mature text and

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1. अत्र च तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रोद्धारो मदीये महार्थोदये पर्यालोचनीयः ।

M.M.P., p. 108.

2. अतश्च शब्दार्थसामरस्यात्मनि साहित्येऽप्यस्मदाग्रहः पारमेश्वरेऽनुग्रह एव यदनुप्राणनाः कुण्डलाभरणमुकुन्दकेलिपरिमलकोमलवल्लीस्तवनखप्रतापादयः प्रबन्धाः प्रख्यायन्ते ।

Ibid., p. 73.

3. स्वप्नसमयोपलब्धा सा सुमुखी सिद्धयोगिनी देवी ।
गाथाभिः सप्तत्या स्वापितभाषाभिरस्तु सम्प्रीता ।।

M.M.P., p. 2.

4. 'Prakrit Languages and Kashmir Śaivism', Prof. A.N. Upadhye *Dr. S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, p. 193.
5. The composition of the Gāthās clearly betrays that the author thinks and mentally drafts first in Sanskrit and then renders them into Prakrit. This introduces a mechanical form and dialectical artificiality in the verses. *Ibid.*

well deserves its description as a "Prasthāna Grantha".[1] It was also known as *Mahākrama-mañjarī*.[2]

The work called *Pādukodaya* is so named because it expounded the notion of Pādukā as its central theme. Pādukā is identical with the Power-absolute which consists in pure bliss and tends to eliminate the sense of duality between self and notself.[3] It is purely a Krama concept.[4] Maheśvarānanda has considerably influenced the subsequent tantric literature. For instance, Śivopādhyāya leans on him for supporting his several statements.[5] Rāmeśvara, the commentator on *Paraśu-rāma-kalpa-sūtra,* refers to him on no less than three occasions.[6] Kaivalyāśrama quotes from his *Parimala* in the *Saubhāgyavardhini* on the *Ānanda-Laharī*,[7] *Rājānakalakṣmīrāma,* an 18th century commentator on *Parātrimśikā* quotes the *Mahārthamañjarī* in his commentary styled as *laghu-Vṛtti*.[8] *Saubhāgyavardhi ī* also refers to some *Parāstotra* and cites from it.[9] It is not known if it was identical with one composed by our author.

It is to be noted that Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Tattvopaplava-simha* styles his work as the *Mahārthodaya*.[10] But it is definitely a different work, because (i) Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa is much anterior to Maheśvarānanda, and (ii) the work by the former is addressed to the Lokāyata system, whereas the latter's deals with the Krama system. Hence the two cannot be identical.

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1. *M.M.P.*, p. 202.
2. *Ibid.*

3,4. यथोपदिष्टमन्त्रविद्भिः—परापरात्मनः स्वात्मनः परानन्दमयी स्वव्यतिरेककवलनोद्युक्ता परा शक्तिः पादुकेति गीयते इति ।...इति स्थित्या प्रतिपादितसर्वार्थक्रमगर्भत्वमवर्जनीयम् । एतच्च तत्प्रतिपादनमात्रोपक्षीणव्यापारे मदीये श्रीपादुकोदये तन्त्रे द्रष्टव्यम् ॥
M.M.P., p. 100.

5. *V.Bh.V.*, pp. 109 111, 137.
6. *P.K.S.*, pp. 64, 95, 114, 115, 117.
7. *S V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.
8. *P.T.L.V.*, p. 7. (KSS No. 69).
9. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.
10. भट्टश्रीजयदेवराशिगुरुभिः सृष्टो महार्थोदयः ।
तत्त्वोपप्लवसिंह् एव इति यः ख्यातिं परां यास्यति ॥
Tattvopaplavasimha of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, p. 125 (last portion).

With such an outstanding personality the later stage of the creative phase comes to an end and one finally enters into a period of darkness and complete decadence.

(xlii) *Śitikaṇṭha* (1450-1500 A.D.)

Barring the studies in Cola, the Krama studies in Kashmir practically came to a dead stop after Jayaratha. This lull is broken by Śitikaṇṭha. Thus there were a few sporadic activities during this period as references to one Siddhapāda[1] by Śitikaṇṭha show, who like Lallā ventilated his views through the then Kashmiri dialect. There is reason to believe that the traditional lore of the system also did not die out completely because Sitikaṇṭha himself claims to have inherited from, through preceptorial lineage indeed, Īśāna who was one of the eight students of Cakrabhānu.[2] But there is no evidence to indicate if it had any creative activity worth the name. The three hundred and odd blank years are beset with the appearance of Śitikaṇṭha on the Krama horizon with his *Mahānaya Prakāśa* which is different from its namesake by Sivānanda from Cola.

Besides the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, his other works include the *Stotramālā*,[3] *Kaulasūtra* and commentary on the *Kātantra Vṛtti*. The *Mahānayaprakāśa* or *Mahārthaprakāśa*, as it is alluded to by several catalogues, is extant in print and is almost complete (KSS No. XXI). Not only that it helps one trace the missing links in the history but also that it gives a thorough exposition of the Mahārtha principle. It is composed in the local vernacular of Kashmir of his time.[4] But the commentary, that too

1. यत् सिद्धपादा आदिदिशुः...... ।

M.P. (*S*), p. 32 ; also pp. 59-60.

2. ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः अष्टानां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद्राज्ञी ईशानाख्या विदितं पारम्पर्यविदाम् ।

M.P.(*S*), p. 107.

It may, however, be noted that the pedigree of his teachers to be given towards the end of this section does not include the name of Īśānā. It is possible that Soma, who heads the list, might have come in that tradition—we do not know.

3. Dr. Pandey attributes, perhaps due to oversight, this work to the author of *Mahānayaprakāśa*. Vide *Abhi*. p. 439. Śitikaṇṭha ascribes the work to himself; *M.P.* (*S*). p. 47.

4. अथोचितरुचितां नुतिं सर्वंगोचरया देशभाषया विरचयितुमाह ।

M.P. (*S*). pp. 47-48.

also by the same author, is in Sanskrit. Towards the beginning of the century Grierson contributed a valued paper on the philological study of the Kashmiri language as used in this work. For reasons of space as well as relevance one has to abstain from going into details on this question.[1] He himself refers to the *Stotramālā* as a work from his pen.[2] There are two manuscripts of the same name in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.[3] As the contents of the MSS could not be looked into, it is difficult to be sure of its author or subject matter. But presumably it pertains to the *Stotramālā* of Śitikaṇṭha, because hitherto no *Stotramālā* by any other author has come to light as belonging to the Kashmir Śaivism. The *Kula Sūtra* or *Kaulasūtra* is his next work which pertains to the Kula system. Śitikaṇṭha also quotes from one *Kulasūtra* without mentioning the author.[4] But the two manuscripts that are available today ascribe it to the authorship of Śitikaṇṭha in their colophons.[5] Aufrecht has taken notice of this

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1. "The results value from two points of view. In the first place, they show clearly the lines of connection between the Indo-aryan side of Kashmiri and Sanskrit and, in the second place, they throw light on the various forms in Modern Kashmiri that, but for the Mahānaya-prakāśa, would be inexplicable."

   Sir George A-Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānaya-prakāśa : An Examination of Kashmiri as written in the Fifteenth Century", *Mem. Asiat, Soc.*, Vol. xi, No. 2, p. 79.

2. यत्स्तुतं स्तोत्रमालायां मयैव—
   विलोक्यते चित्रपटे यथोभयं पटैक्यमन्तर्वपुषां गणो बहिः ।
   अखण्डधाम्नोऽन्तरमुष्य वेत्तृता ज्ञानत्वमक्षान्तजूषां चिदर्चिषाम् ॥
   M.P. (*S*), pp. 47-48.

3. MSS Nos. 568 and 569 of 1884-86, BORI, Poona.

4. तथा च कुलसूत्रेषु उक्तम्—
   कुलपीठक्षेत्रादिवर्णपञ्चपिण्डप्रणवव्यपदेश्यमखिलाभासकरूपाया अहंभावाभिमतसंविदः समाश्रयभूतमात्मायतनं शरीरम् । इति
   M.P. (*S*), p. 60.

5. इतिश्रीशितिकण्ठस्य शुभम् ।
   (Kashmir MS).
   कृतिर्गुरुभट्टश्रीशितिकण्ठस्येति शुभम् ।
   (BORI MS).

work.[1] The one of the two extant manuscripts of this work belongs to Pt. Dīnānātha Yakṣa, the formerly head Pandit of Sanskrit section, Research Department, Srinagar and other is available in BORI Library, Poona.[2] Both the MSS begin with a similar remark by the scribe that he has written only a part of the text owing to the mutilated and dilapidated condition of the model script.[3] But still the MS at BORI is more correct and enlarged. The (BORI) MS appears to have finished where its Kashmiri counterpart ends,[4] but it again takes up the thread. The *Kulasūtra* seems to have been originally divided into sixteen chapters called Svarakalās.[5] The (BORI) MS in its continuation gives seven such Kalās from 10th to 16th. The nine are missing. Under such circumstances one should not be surprised if one does not find the passage cited by Śitikaṇṭha in the MS. The work is in the Sūtra style and highlights the esoteric aspect of the Kula system. The relevant aspects of the text of the MS have been taken note of in the philosophical portion of the thesis. It may, however, be noted in passing that the BORI MS refers to the Kula and Krama system alike.[6] And a comparative analysis of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* and the *Kulasūtra* unearths the identity of views with regard to a few controversial problems of the Krama and further establishes the oneness of their authorship. His fourth work, called Nyāsa, is a famous sub-commentary on the *Bālabodhinī* commentary by Jagaddhara on the *Kātantra Vṛtti*. The present enquiry would not be even remotely connected with the work in the present

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1. *Cat. Cat*, App. 1. 445.
2. MS. No. 445 of 1875-76, BORI, Poona.
3. अथ कौलसूत्रान्तर्गतानि कानिचित् सूत्राणि लिख्यन्ते आदर्शछिन्नभिन्नत्वात् ।

   (Both MSS).
4. पामरोक्तोपासकसाधकसिद्धिसयुजां सहैव सहसा साहसाचरणात् समरसीभूतानां वस्तुनि नान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गतापरस्परम् । इति । कौलसूत्राणि ।

   MS. BORI, folio 2a (Kashmiri MS ends here).
5. इति कुलसूत्रेषु षोडशस्वरकला ॥

   MS. BORI, folio 4b.
6. यतः कुलक्रमप्रतिष्ठितप्रत्यक्षसिद्धः समा(मया)चार एव मङ्गलोदर्कः । इति कुलसूत्रेषु द्वादशस्वरकला ।

   Ibid., folio 3a.

context, but for its autobiographical references that make the task of determining his date much easier. He is remotely blood-related to Jagaddhara. He is son of the daughter's daughter of the great-grandson of Jagaddhara.[1] And he wrote his *Nyāsa* during the reign of Hasan Shah, the son of Haider Shah.[2] Sri Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi basing his conclusions on the various statements of the *Nyāsa* points out that before he undertook to write the *Nyāsa*, he visited Gujarat and was warmly received by the king Mohammad Shah.[3] According to the *Kāsmirakusuma* by Hariścandra, Husain Shah came to throne in 4583 Kali year equivalent to 1482 A.D. This date is confirmed, with slight modification, by Srīvara who puts the period of reign of Hasan Shah from 1472 to 1484 A.D.[4] and, according to the *Rāsamālā*,[5] Mohammad Shah ruled over Gujarat from 1458 to 1511 A.D. On the basis of these historical data it is easy to find out his place in the chronology. He had visited Gujarat before he wrote his commentary ; and while he started writing, king Hasan Shah was at the helm. Hence he must have begun his work by 1480-82 A.D. Allowing a margin of about thirty years for intellectual equipment he may be assigned to the latter half of the 15th century. That is, he seems to have flourished during 1450-1500 A.D. On the basis of a few verses in the introduction, according to Dr. Nagarajan,[6] his family tree on the parental

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1. श्रीबालबोधिन्यभिधां कवीन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।
तन्नप्तृकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्याम्यहं तां शितिकण्ठकोऽल्पम् ॥

Quoted from *Nyāsa*, Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānayaprakāśa, p. 74.

2. कश्मीराधिपतिः कृपाजलनिधिर्विख्यातकीर्तिश्चिरं
जीव्याद् हैदरशाहसूनुरनघः कन्दर्पदर्पावहः ॥

Ibid.

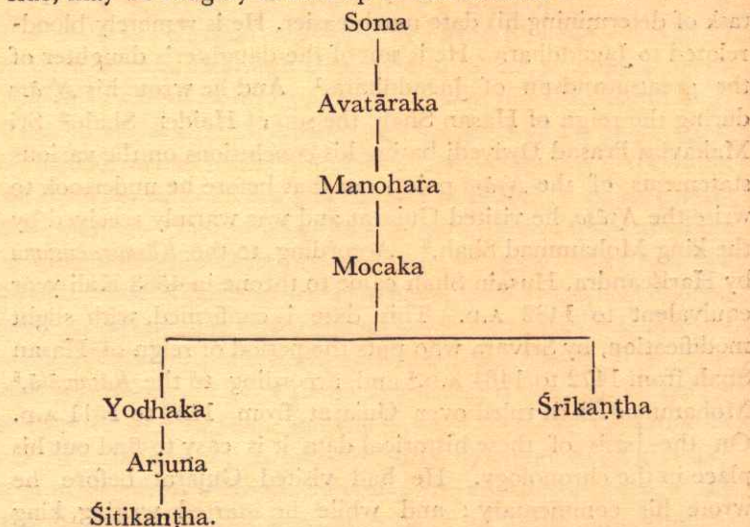
3. Vide "जगद्धरभट्ट की स्तुतिकुसुमांजलि" by Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi, *Kalyāṇa*, Śivāṅka, pp. 317-325 (reproduced from his work called *Sāhitya Sandarbha*).

4. (Vide *Raj. T.* by Srivara, Chap. VI) *Ibid.*

5. *Contribution*, p. 520,

6. *Contribution*, p. 520.

side, may be roughly drawn up in this manner :—



It is also gathered that Śrīvara, perhaps the famous historian who was patronized by Sultan Zainul-Abidin, Haider Shah and Hasan Shah successively, Śrīnāśeṣa (?) and Varadeśvara were his teachers. It is, thus, obvious that preceptorially and ancestrally—on both sides—he was richly endowed with an atmosphere conducive to scholarly pursuits.

(xliii) *Ananta Śaktipāda* (1700-1750 A.D.)

The colophon of the published commentary on the *Vātūlanātha-sūtra* attributes it to some Anantaśaktipāda.[1] Although the tradition as recorded here belongs to the Sāhasa school and is traced to one very old preceptor of the Krama school namely, Niṣkriyānandanātha, the commentary as such is quite recent. One knows nothing about the actual author of the Sūtras or the commentator thereon. One of the reasons behind this ignorance lies in its total escape from the notice of other texts and scholars. This commentary, like *Chummāsampradāya-prakāśa*, must be of quite late origin. In the absence of any evidence, either external and internal, it may be bracketed with the

1. समाप्तेयं श्रीमद्वातूलनाथसूत्रवृत्तिः । कृतिः श्रीमदनन्तशक्तिपादानाम् ।

Chummā Sampradāya on the basis of the similarity of contents. Since a passage from the *Chummā Sampradāya* has been quoted by Śivopādhyāya (18th century), Ananta Śaktipāda can only be placed somewhere before him.[1] While discussing Niṣkriyānanda some doubts in this behalf have already been expressed.

According to M.S. Kaul, the editor of the printed text, the glossator seems to have commented also upon the *Bahurūpa-garbha-stotra.*[2] The MS. No. 1135 of 1886-92 at BORI, Poona contains the text of the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra* with a *Vṛtti* which is bound in a single cover with the *Svacchanda Tantra.* It is not known if it is identical with one in question.

(xliv) *Bhaṭṭāraka* (1700-1750 A.D.)

Not much is known about Bhaṭṭāraka except that he was the author of the work named *Prākṛtatriṁśikā-vivaraṇa.* The frequent discussion on the nature of the Vṛndacakra was the main feature of the book[3]—this is all that Śivopādhyāya tells us. The fact that the text primarily deals with the Vṛnda-cakra is enough to prove that it was a Krama text. From the pattern of the title of the text, it may be conjured up that it was probably an exposition of some text in Pākṛta language modelled on the pattern of the *Parā Triṁśikā* in Sanskrit. Since it is from Śivopādhyāya's reference that one comes to know of him, he may be tentatively placed prior to Śivopādhyāya who is assigned to the period 1725-1775 A.D.

(xlv) *Śivopādhyāya* (1725-1775 A.D.)

With him the Krama system finally comes to a full stop. He is not primarily a Krama author, yet the reason for present temptation to include him among the Krama authors lies in his ingenious remarks that he has never failed to make about the intricacies of the Krama system, whenever he could seize an opportunity to do so throughout his *Vivṛti* on the *Vijñāna-*

1. *V.Bh.V*, p. 67.
2. *V.N.S.*, Foreword, p. 2.
3. वृन्दचक्रनिर्णयस्तु बहुधा भट्टारककृतप्राकृतत्रिंशकाविवरणे विचार्य इत्यलम् ।
V.Bh.V., p. 69.

bhairava.[1] In depth, subtlety and maturity, he sometimes reminds us of the best masters and presupposes a little bit of acquaintance with the system on the part of the reader. It will be amply borne out in the philosophical portion of the present work.

His erstwhile printed work, the *Vivṛti*, is an attempt to restore to posterity the commentary of Kṣemarāja that was irreparably lost even in his time. It was available only upto the 23rd verse.[2] In continuing the venture he closely draws on Kṣemarāja as is evinced by the fact that he attributes *Spanda-Kārikās* to Vasugupta and not to Kallaṭa.[3] By now one is fully conversant with the significance that this controversy assumed in the realms of Kashmir Śaivism. But at the same time he points out the omissions of Kṣemarāja and throws veiled hint of the improvement brought about by him.[4]

His only other known work, the *Śrīvidyāvivaraṇa* pertaining to the Tripurā system—is extant today only in manuscript. One of the available manuscript entitled *Śrīvidyāvivaraṇa* belongs to Pt. Dīnānātha Yakṣa of Kashmir, whereas the other named *Mantrarāja* to BORI, Poona, which is bound with other MSS numbering 452, 481 and 482 of 1875-76. It is not numbered and has been described as "fragment Mantraśāstrīyo granthaḥ." The book seems to be complete work although the last few words are missing.

Some of his whereabouts have come down to us. In the end of his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*, he gives out his name as Śivaguṇī, Gotra as Kauśika and suggests the necessary accompaniments of his name with the Jāti-title "Upādhyāya".[5]

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1. *V.Bh V.*, pp. 47, 50-52, 58, 66-69, 85-86, 95-97, 104-111, 115, 140 etc.
2. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।
ऊर्ध्वे प्राणादिपद्यान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥
V.Bh V., p. 143.
3. यदुक्तं वसुगुप्तपादैः 'एकचिन्ताप्रसक्तस्य……तमुपलक्षयेत्' । *Ibid.*, p. 84.
4. तद् राति-वाति-क्रियायुगलार्थो द्वितीयपादोक्तः क्षेमराजादिभिः न चेतितो यतो विज्ञानोद्योतमङ्गलश्लोकप्रारम्भे भरणाद्यर्थ एव प्रकटीकृतः । *Ibid.*, p. 115.
5. विज्ञानतंत्रविवृतिः कृतसंग्रहेयं वृत्त्यन्तरात्क्वचिदपि स्वमतेर्विलासात् ।
नाम्ना शिवेतिगुणकौशिकगोत्रजात्योपाध्यायशब्दयुतयाप्युपलक्षितेन ॥ *V.Bh.V.*, p. 143.

He was also known as Śiva-Svāmin, but the Jāti-title Upādhyāya always formed the part of his name—this one learns from the concluding verse of the *Śrīvidyā-vivaraṇa.* It was a commentary on a Tripurā text called *Mantrarāja* pertaining to the Saubhāgya school. He belonged to Kāṣṭhūla province of Kashmir which, though escaping a definite identification, was a village or township on the banks of Jhelam (Vitastā)[1]. The colophon of the MS also gives the name of his father as Prakāśopādhyāyasvāmin and also the other title of his commentary as *Anubhavabodha-vidyā.*[2] Similarly, the colophon of the *Vivṛti* tells us that he was the pupil of some Sundarakaṇṭha who was probably famous as Govindaguru or the teacher of Govinda.[3]

In this connection it is quite interesting to know the real psychology behind his unusual insistence on the Jāti-title Upādhyāya. In his time the Jāti-title Upādhyāya carried a special social recognition. He alone could lay claim to the membership of the Upādhyāya class (or Pādipī in the spoken language) who could teach respective systems to their followers distinguished by their respective surnames as the Trika, Kaula and Bhaṭṭa. In the local dialect the first and third were known as the Tikī, and Rainā or Rājāna respectively. Those who concentrated on the

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1. आश्माद्रेश्चारुदूरादिविपिनमिलितः श्वेतगंगावगाहात्-
पूतस्वान्तेन काश्मीरिकविबुधशिवस्वाम्युपाध्यायनाम्ना ।
व्याख्यातो मन्त्रराजः प्रकटविमलसत्सम्प्रदायः परायाः
श्रीविद्याया गभीरो हरिहरदिवसे शिष्यबोधार्थमेषः ॥
यस्मिन्नेकत्र पार्श्वे वहति परनदी श्रीवितस्तेति गीता
पार्श्वेऽन्यस्मिन्नुमाचूचुकसरणिगलद्दुग्धधारा नदी च ।
तस्मिन् काष्ठूलदेशे विरचितवसतिर्लब्धवर्णः शिवाख्यो
व्याख्यात् सौभाग्यविद्यामभिमतफलदां जात्युपाध्यायशब्दः ॥

(MS. of Pt. Yakṣa)

2. इतिश्रीविद्याविवरणम् अनुभवबोध-विद्याख्यं कृतिः प्रकाशोपाध्यायस्वामिपुत्रशिवोपाध्याय-स्वामिनः ।
Ibid.

3. कृतिः श्रीमद्गोविन्दगुरुसुन्दरकण्ठपादपद्मानुजीविनः शिवोपाध्यायस्य इति शिवम् ॥
V.Bh.V., p. 144.

Trika system were called Tikī; those who were dedicated to the performance of the Kaula rituals and the study of the *Kula sūtra* were called Kaula; and, those who belonged to the higher strata among the Brahmins and claimed highest accomplishments with their proficiency in the science of Mantras were called Rainā or Rājāna. Naturally, Śivopādhyāya is fully justified in his extra emphasis on the class-title, because it reflected his still higher social status and superb intellectual achievement.[1]

His time is almost certain. According to him, he completed his commentary on the *Vijñāna-bhairava* when Kashmir was being ruled by King Sukha-Jīvana.[2] According to historians king Sukhajīvana reigned over Kashmir from 1754 to 1762 A.D. Hence he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 18th century.[3]

6. *Certain Krama works by anonymous authors including exclusive Krama Āgamas*

Really speaking these works which are proposed to be taken up presently did not require a separate section. They should have been dealt with in the preceding section, but for the reasons specified below. Presently the main intention is to take a brief notice of those works whose authorship, for various factors, is not known today. And consequently their exact chronological position is also a matter of speculation. In the last section a special endeavour was made to maintain a chronological continuity to the fullest possible extent. Perhaps that continuity would be difficult to maintain, if these works of unknown whereabouts were also included therein.

1. एवं त्रिकार्थतत्त्वं ये विमृशन्ति बुधास्सदा। ते व्याख्याता द्विजा भूमौ त्रिकजातीयसंज्ञया ॥ तिकी इत्यद्यापि अपभाषन्ते, त्रिककौलादिभट्टानां तत्तच्छास्त्रार्थबोधने गुरवो ये समुद्दिष्टास्ते ह्युपाध्यायजातयः तान् पादिपी इत्यपभाषन्ते त्रिकाः, कुलमानप्रतिष्ठानात् कुलपूजारताश्च ये। ते कौला भुवि विख्याताः कुलसूत्रप्रपाठकाः ॥ महाब्राह्मणजातिर्या सोद्दिष्टा भट्टसंज्ञका। सर्वोत्कृष्टप्रबोधस्था भट्टास्ते पंडिताः स्मृताः ॥ मंत्रप्रयोगकुशला राजान इतीरिताः रैन इत्यपभाषन्ते तान् जनाः इत्यादिजातिनिर्णयविस्तारसंहितासु द्रष्टव्यम्।
MS, BORI, folio. 10a.

2. सुखजीवनाभिधाने रक्षति काश्मीरमंडलं नृपतौ।
अगमन्निःशेषत्वं विज्ञानोद्योतसंग्रहः सुगमः ॥
V.Bh.V., p. 144.

3. *Kashmir through the Ages*, G.L. Kaul, p. 63.

In this section we have two types of literature. The first type consists of the revealed i.e., Āgamic literature and the second includes the works of human authorship. In the first category there are again two subtypes. One pertains to the Āgamic Śaiva literature of Kashmir in general which every system of the Kashmir Śaivism feels impelled to draw upon, and which in its deliberations anticipates many Krama doctrines. The other relates to the exclusive Krama Āgamas that are mainly responsible for the rise of divergent traditions with regard to the important Krama theses. Owing to the enormity of the literature of the first type it is not possible to discuss them here, more so in view of their having been resorted to wherever called for in the philosophical part of the thesis. This category includes such esteemed āgamas as the *Mālinīvijaya*, *Sarvajñānottara*, *Brahmayāmala*, *Tantrarāja* and *Kiraṇāgama*, etc. etc. The other type comprises the Krama āgamas alone. They are but a few in number and the relevance of introducing them need not be questioned. The next category of works includes the works of human origin and though their names are known from references, their authors are not known and the texts are not extant. In view of the importance attached to them in the system, a reference to them seems justified. It is proposed to take up the āgamas first and then, the other works.

(a) *The Krama Āgamas*

Before the discussion of the individual āgamas is embarked upon, it may be noted that the Krama āgamas as such are of a comparatively later date than their counterparts in the general field. In this connection it is also interesting to note that they generally belong to the 'Nigama' class of the tantric classification. 'Āgama' refers to that class of scriptural literature which is addressed to Pārvatī by Śiva, while 'Nigama' is said to refer to works spoken by Pārvatī to Śiva.[1] The

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1. आगतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च गिरिजानने ।
मतं च वासुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ॥
निर्गतं गिरिजावक्त्राद् गतं च गिरिशश्रुतौ ।
मतं च वासुदेवस्य तस्मान्निगम उच्यते ॥

majority of the Krama āgamas would fall in line with the Nigama class. In fact these two classes of āgamas in the strict Krama parlance, represent the two tendencies distinguished by their respective emphasis on the supremacy of the either of Śiva and Śakti. Let us now advert to the āgamas proper in their probable chronological order.

(i) *Pañcaśatika or Devīpañcaśatika*[1]

The *Pañcaśatika* is one of the earliest or the earliest known Krama āgama. Jayaratha explicitly tells us that this āgama was known to Somānanda.[2] Abhinava also seems to have referred to it.[3] It was also known as *Devīpañcaśatika*.[4] A fairly definite date can be assigned to it. Since the *Pañcaśatika* contains the name of the first four teachers of the Krama including the last one i.e., Śivānanda,[5] and also since it was known to Somānanda also, it may be placed somewhere in between them.

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1. It has been included among "the works of Early Teachers" by Dr. Pandey, Vide *Abhi.*, pp. 471, 474. But it is not so. That it is an āgama is proved by its construction and that it was taken to be so, is established by Jayaratha's own statement. In a passage quoted from it (*T.A.V.*, iii, p. 181) Devī is the speaker and Śiva is being addressed, vide सा कला परमार्केति ज्ञेया भस्माङ्गभूषणा. For a similar passage also see p. 169. Likewise, Jayaratha is very clear on its being an Āgama. Vide येन श्रीपंचशतिकादौ संहारकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्या, इति तन्नाम्ना आगम उच्यते, इति दूरेण संबंधः, तदुक्तं तत्र *T.A.V.*, III, p. 166. For a similar statement of Jayaratha, also see pp. 160-161.

2. श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानंदभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।
Ibid., p. 194.

3. ततश्च प्रागियं शुद्धा तथाचाभासनोत्सुका ।
सृष्टिं कलयते देवी तन्नाम्नागम उच्यते ॥
T.A. 4. 148.

Jayaratha explains आगमे as श्रीपंचशतिकादौ ।
T.A.V, III, p. 158.

4. देवीपञ्चशताशयमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भवद्भिरेवोक्तम्···तर्हि श्रीपञ्चशतिकार्थमपि न जानीषे ।
Ibid., p. 194.

5. *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29th).

Śivānanda, the first preceptor, is ascribed to the first half of the ninth century and Somānanda is distanced from him only by two generations—that is, Somānanda belongs to the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. It is, therefore, quite likely that this āgama would have come up towards the middle of the ninth century.

Coming to the views of the *Pañcaśatika* one finds that the Rudrakālī, which signifies the nature of withdrawal with reference to the means of knowledge in Anākhyā cakra, was termed Bhadrakālī by it without any change in the meaning.[1] One of the important implications of Jayaratha's discussion on the *pañcaśatika* is that by including the name of Sukālī in the list, the text seems to subscribe to the thirteen-kālī theory.[2] This marks a sharp contrast from the *Kramastotra* which sticks to the twelve-kālī doctrine. The opponents of Jayaratha object as to how he (Jayaratha) still maintains that the *Kramastotra* follows the *Pañcaśatika*. First, Jayaratha side-tracks the issue by calling attention to the original question —whether or not the *Kramastotra* adhered to the twelve-kāli thesis[3]—and then, retorts that if the opponent persists in his accusation he does not even know the meaning of the *Pañcaśatika*[4]. However, this goes to evince amply that its tradition had suffered a great setback by the time of Jayaratha. Even its text started having variants and naturally became liable to varying interpretations. Jayaratha has cited one such instance, while referring to Ojarāja's interpretation of a portion of it.[5] Besides these it maintained a topsyturvy manner in Sthitikrama so as to hide the real Saṁvit-krama. In designing Pūjākrama the Krama authors rather emulated it.[6] Similarly it maintained the separate identity

1. *Ibid.* p. 173.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
3. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 190-91.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
5. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 197.
6. किं तु आगमे संवित्क्रमगोपनार्थम् आलूनविशीर्णतयैवमभिधानं, यथा श्रीपंचशतिके स्थिति-क्रमेऽपि, यदेव चानुसृत्य महागुरुभिः पूजाक्रमः प्रक्रान्तः ।

Ibid., III, pp. 161-62.

of the Cakras like Sṛṣṭi and Saṁhāra, etc.[1]

(ii) *Sārdhaśatika*

The *Sārdhaśatika* is another important āgama that completely dittoes the stand taken by the *Pañcaśatika* with regard to the precise number of Kālīs in Anākhyā Cakra. And, therefore it always mentioned Sthitikālī after Sṛṣṭikālī. On the contrary, in the *Kramastotra* Rakta-kāli and not Sthitikālī is made to follow Sṛṣṭikālī. An objection is raised by the opponent as to whether it is not a clear violation of the āgamic authority.[2] The context makes it abundantly clear that *Sārdhaśatika*, too, was an equally authoritative Krama āgama as the *Pañcaśatika*, otherwise sanction of the same would not have been invoked on an exclusively Krama issue. The only other available reference to it has figured in a similar context.[3] It appears to be a fairly old āgama. On the basis of dialogue between it and the *Pañcaśatika* it may be assigned to the same period subject to future investigations in the field.

(iii) *Krama-rahasya*

The *Krama-rahasya* seems to be a minor āgama. It is referred to only once by Abhinava.[4] It may, therefore, be

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1. तदेवमष्टनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपंचशतिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव एकैकविद्येति न कश्चिद्विरोधः ।

V.M.V., p. 71.

2. ननु सर्वत्रैवान्यत्र श्रीसृष्टिकाल्यनन्तरं श्रीस्थितिकाल्या अभिधानम् यदुक्तं श्रीसार्धशतिके ···इति । तत्कथमिह तदनन्तरं श्रीरक्तकाल्यादिनिर्देशः कृतः, एवं हि आगमविरोधः स्यात् । अन्यत्र here means "texts other than the *Kramastotra*".

T.A.V., III, p. 161.

3. ननु क्रमदर्शने सर्वत्रैव श्रीसृष्ट्यादिदेवीनां मध्ये श्रीसुकाल्या भगवत्या अभिधानं, येन अनाख्यचक्रे त्रयोदश देव्यः···तदुक्तं श्रीपञ्चशतिके···। श्रीसार्धशतिकं तु समनन्तरमेव संवादितम् ।

Ibid., p. 189.

4. एवमस्य प्राधान्येऽपि अवान्तरवस्त्वपेक्षया शास्त्रान्तरेऽन्यदपि किंचित् प्रधानतयोक्तमित्याह—

श्रीमत्क्रमरहस्ये च न्यरूपि परमेशिना ।
अर्घपात्रं यागधाम दीप इत्युच्यते त्रयम् ।।

T.A. 29. 14.
(*T.A.V.*, XI, p. 14, Ah. 29)

concluded that this āgama may not be as old as the *Pañcaśatika*, but its antiquity does go beyond Abhinava. Abhinava quotes it in a Kula context in order to show how the emphases vary from system to system. In Kula rituals wine is said to be of utmost importance. But, the *Krama-rahasya* is represented to hold the other view and, instead, attaches the supreme importance to the trio of Arghapātra, Yāgadhāma and Dīpa Now which else can this other system be ? Obviously it ought to be Krama as is suggested by the very nomenclature of the text. That it belonged to the āgama's category is confirmed by the fact that it was the Lord Himself who expounded this view in the *Krama-rahasya*. Perhaps, it mainly concentrated on the ritualistic part of the system.

(iv) *Kramasadbhāva*

The *Krama-sadbhāva* is again an āgama of the Nigama type, because it is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva.[1] Authors of the rank and file of Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭhācārya have referred to it.

It was possibly known as *Krama* also. While reasoning out the necessity of the removal of doubt, Abhinava looks up to the āgamas as well. Among the other āgamas the name of the *Krama* also appears [2] Jayaratha's immediate interpretation of the word is in terms of the Krama philosophy, but soon after he quotes from each āgama at issue and it is the *Krama-*

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1. कालोत्थिता महादेव सानन्दा नन्दिनी शिवा ।

T.A.V., III, p. 190.

The address "Mahādeva" may be noted. Vide also
पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चवाहमहाक्रमम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 108.

2. न चात्र युक्तिरेवास्ति यावदागमोऽपीत्याह--
श्रीसर्वाचारवीरालीनिशाचारक्रमादिषु ॥
शास्त्रेषु विततं चैतत् तत्र तत्रोच्यते यतः ।

T.A., 12. 23-24.

क्रमः क्रमदर्शनम्,……

T.A.V., VII, p. 106. (Ah. 12).

sadbhāva which is quoted for the *Krama*.[1] This seems to be conclusively established, because elsewhere also Jayaratha refers to the *Krama Sadbhāva* as *Kramabhaṭṭāraka*, the title bhaṭṭāraka being only an honorific one.[2] This is further confirmed by his reference to *Krama Sadbhāva* as the *Kramasadbhāvabhaṭṭāraka*.[3] It is thus certain that Abhinava by the name *Krama* means the *Kramasadbhāva*. Consequently this āgama, too, belongs to the period preceding Abhinava.

By the time of Jayaratha, people appear to have lost direct touch with the text. Evidently some confusion prevailed in respect of its actual stand on the number of Kālīs to be adored in Anākhyā-cakra. At one place, while invoking its authority in support of the Ṣoḍaśāra Cakra Jayaratha takes their number to be sixteen,[4] while at other place the statement ascribed to it recognizes their number to be seventeen.[5] Due to the unity of their source it is difficult to know today what its actual stand was. Yet, it is sure that it did not agree with the projected number of the deities at twelve or thirteen. Despite the controversy with regard to the real allegiance of the *Kramastotra*, there is no doubt that the *Kramastotra* took a different line from that of the *Kramasadbhāva* The view, therefore, that the Stotrakāra closely followed this āgama is erroneous and misleading.[6] It coined a few phrases to describe

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1. तत्रत्यमेव ग्रन्थैकदेशमुदाहरति······ । श्रीक्रमसद्भावेऽपि—'शंकाशून्यो भवेत्सदा' इति ।
Ibid., 106-107.

2. श्रीक्रमभट्टारकादौ स्थितिनाशकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्येत्यर्थः, यदुक्तं तत्र—।
Ibid., III, p. 163.

3. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टेत्यर्थः ।
Ibid., p. 173; also see p. 190.

4. यदभिप्रायेणैव श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचक्रे षोडशैव देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः ।
T.A.V., III p. 136.

5. यतः श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचक्रे सप्तदश देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः, यदुक्तं तत्र·········· ।
Ibid., p. 190.

6. अतएव च एतदाशयेन च श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न ग्राह्यम्—।
Ibid., p. 191.

certain deities. Thus Sthitikālī is termed as Sthiti-nāśakālī[1] and Bhadrakālī as Rudrakālī.[2]

According to Śitikaṇṭha, the *Kramasadbhāva* discussed Vṛnda Cakra in detail.[3] This is borne out by at least one passage, cited from it by Maheśvarānanda, that deals with the Pātakrama under Vṛndacakra.[4] The *Krama Sadbhāva* is quoted again in support of his view that the order of the five functions of the Absolute, in which they ought to be worshipped, begins with Creation and ends with Bhāsā.[5] A few minor views also have been ascribed to the *Kramasadbhāva*, which are not referred to here.[6]

(v) *Kālikākrama*

The utterances quoted from the *Kālikākrama* are marked by their genuine philosophical aptitudc unnoticed in any of the āgamas discussed so far. It is the reason why Kṣemarāja[7] quotes so profusely from it in his *Vimarśini* on the *Śivasūtras*

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
2. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टा ।

   Ibid., p. 173.
3. स च वृन्दक्रमः क्रमसद्भावे सविस्तरमुपदिष्टः ।

   M.P.(S)., p. 86.
4. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे—

   ज्ञानं सृष्टिं विजानीयात् स्थितिर्मन्त्रः प्रकीर्तितः ।
   संहारं तु महाकालमेलापं परमं विदुः ॥
   अनाख्यं शक्तिरूपं तु भासाख्यं शम्भुरूपकम् ।
   पञ्चप्रकारमेतद्धि विज्ञेयं तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

   M.M.P., p. 97.
5. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे —

   तेषां मध्यात् क्रमेणैव आदौ पूज्यस्तु कः क्रमः ।
   तन्मे कथय सुश्रोणि विस्तरेण यथाविधि ॥
   इति प्रश्नानन्तरम् —
   पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चवाहमहाक्रमम् ।
   तेषां तु क्रमराजानां सृष्टिरूपोऽग्रतः सदा ॥
   ततस्तु स्थितिसंहारमनाख्यं च ततः परम् ।
   भासाख्यं च ततः पश्चाद् पूजयेदक्रमक्रमम् ॥

   Ibid., p. 108.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 101.
7. *S.S.Vi*, pp. III, 113, 118, 119, 120, 123, 133, 139.

and the later authors do not, except for one identical passage.[1] Because with the passage of time real philosophical zeal started to simmer down among the Krama authors. Among the later authors are included Yogarāja, Śivānanda (the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*), Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. The work also passed in the name of the *Devikākrama*. For, while quoting the some passage as hinted above, Maheśvarānanda attributes it to the *Devikākrama*.[2]

The very first look at the extracts conveys the impression of their being from some philosophical treatise and not from an Āgama. But a passage cited from it by Kṣemarāja[3] leaves no scope for doubting its agamic character. In this extract the work is said to be of divine origin, that is, the philosophical truths herein are revealed by Bhairava.

Coming to its time some broad outlines may be indicated. Till Abhinava there is no trace of the work; it is learnt from Kṣemarāja for the first time. Since Kṣemarāja claims to have received all his knowledge from Abhinava, it may be surmised that Abhinava at least knew of it. Even otherwise, the text might be contemporaneous with or slightly later than Abhinava, because one has already seen that *Vimarśinī* is the last work of Kṣemarāja.

As to its philosophical contents, one may begin with the most famous passage to which attention has been drawn. As its first premise it declares the entire manifold—whether internal or external—to be of the nature of pure awareness. It is awareness that assumes the form of respective objects.

1. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं बहिरन्तः प्रकाशते ।
ज्ञानादृते नार्थसत्ता ज्ञानरूपं ततो जगत् ॥
नहि ज्ञानादृते भावाः केनचिद्विषयीकृताः ।
ज्ञानं तदात्मतां यातमेतस्मादवसीयते ॥
T.A.V., III, p. 390; *P.S.V.*, p. 90; *M.M. P.*, p 10.

2. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं······अवसीयते ॥ इति श्रीदेविकाक्रमस्थित्याः···
M.M.P., p. 10.

3. तथा च श्रीकालिकाक्रमे
तस्मान्नित्यमसंदिग्धं बुद्ध्वा योगं गुरोर्मुखात् ।
अविकल्पेन भावेन भावयेत्तन्मयत्वतः ॥
यावत् तत्समतां याति भगवान् भैरवोऽब्रवीत् । इति
S.S.Vi, p. 111.

Nobody has even visualised the objective world unless it has become a fact of his experience. Since awareness does not proceed without its object, just as affirmation is meaningless without negation; and, since the two are always simultaneously realised, the awareness and its object are bound to be one in essence. It is why the Krama system views the objective variety as an expression of the Absolutic dynamism.[1]

In another similarly popular passage it draws one's attention to the nature of the Absolute as supreme awareness and that of its power, called Vimarśa, as omniscience. In fact the two cannot be visualised analytically. Thus the process of Japa, if undertaken by a yogin, transpires to be self-reflection on the self-divinity.[2] In a similar strain it is insisted upon that one, who could realize knowledge—without its referent and—as consisting in self-consciousness, achieves true freedom even during the embodied span of life.[3] Ignorance and knowledge, both being the manifestations of the ultimate reality, the talk of destruction of either is meaningless. Because, even when the interplay of nescience is said to have been eliminated, the real nature of it remains intact. To talk of rise and annihilation of nescience is the sheer luxury of figurative language. The only cure, therefore, by implication, lies in appreciating the

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1. कालिकाक्रमेऽपि
तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं…अवसीयते ॥
अस्तिनास्तिविभागेन निषेधविधियोगतः ।
ज्ञानात्मता ज्ञेयनिष्ठा भावानां भावनाबलात् ॥
युगपद्वेदनाज्ज्ञानज्ञेययोरेकरूपता ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi, p. 118.

2. तस्य देवातिदेवस्य परबोधस्वरूपिणः ।
विमर्शः परमा शक्तिः सर्वज्ञा ज्ञानशालिनी ॥
इति श्रीकालिकाक्रमनिरूपितरीत्या … … स्वात्मदेवताविमर्शानवरतावर्तनात्मा जपो जायते ।

S.S.Vi, p. 113; also see p. 139.
Vide also *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 187, 387.

3. अतएव श्रीकालिकाक्रमे…
तथा सर्वं शुद्धं निरालंबं ज्ञानं स्वप्रत्ययात्मकम् ।
यः पश्यति स मुक्तात्मा जीवन्नेव न संशयः ॥

Ibid., p. 119.

basically Absolutic character of the two.[1] Thus the experience of pleasure and pain is a necessary outcome of the enormous mental construction. A yogin is advised to pierce through this great illusion of duality so as to attain the real fruit of the yoga.[2] In fact, the entire objective paraphernalia beginning with the categories of the pure order such as Śiva etc. is the logical corollary of the loss of knowledge coupled with the rise of mental constructions. And all the good or bad objects stem from the same. What one calls evil, leads one to pain and hell because of its character as sheer intellectual fabrication.[3] It is, therefore, imperative for one to eliminate all the empirical as well as imaginary associations (Vṛtti), to rest on the inner plane, to relinquish the empirical network of mental constructs through one's monistic attitude, and then to remain self-composed and ever prepared to kill the element of time, if he cares to reach the highest stage of his existence consisting in freedom. Such a view needs no explanation. Because, just as in one's daily life the objects of a dream are no longer perceptible when the person is awake, in the same way the world ceases to figure in the yogin's perception when he views

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1. यदुक्तं तत्रैव—
नाशेऽविद्याप्रपञ्चस्य स्वभावो न विनश्यति।
उत्पत्तिध्वंसविरहात्तस्मान्नाशो न वास्तवः॥
यतोऽविद्यासमुत्पत्तिध्वंसाभ्यामुपचर्यते।
यत्स्वभावेन नष्टं न तन्नष्टं कथमुच्यते॥ इति।

Ibid., p. 120.

2. तदुक्तं श्रीकालिकाक्रमे—
सुखदुःखादिविज्ञानविकल्पानल्पकल्पितम्।
भित्त्वा द्वैतमहामोहं योगी योगफलं लभेत्॥

S.S.Vi, p. 123.

3. तदुक्तं तत्रैव—
यदविद्यावृततया विकल्पविधियोगतः।
शिवादीन्नैव झटिति समुद्भावयतेऽखिलान्॥
ततः शुभाशुभाः भावा लक्ष्यन्ते तद्वशत्वतः।
अशुभेभ्यश्च भावेभ्यः परं दुःखं प्रजायते॥ इति

Ibid., p. 123; also see, p. 131.

it through Bhāvanā i.e. identifying it with the universal self.[1]

This was of course a Krama text as the above deliberations would show, in addition to the suggestivity of the title.

(vi) *Krama-siddhi*

The *Kramasiddhi* is an āgama of a later origin. It is difficult to ascertain its exact period but it was known to none of Abhinava, Kṣemarāja and Jayaratha. Throughout the history of the Krama thought it is Maheśvarānanda alone who draws our attention to it.[2] It, therefore, appears likely that the work did not come into light until the lapse of the 11th century.

The lower limit may further be stretched upto the time of Jayaratha. It may also interest one to note that even in later Krama or other tantric literature one does not hear of this work. It, therefore, must have been a minor work. It chose the form of a dialogue between two—the God and the Goddess. But it is doubtful who really played the role of teacher and who that of disciple. Because, of all the four extracts cited by Maheśvarānanda only two have some bearing on this point. In one Śiva is addressed by Devī who imparts to him the secrets of the Saṁvitkrama.[3] whereas in the other Śiva is approached by Devī and he tells her the esoteric

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1. यदुक्त ं तत्रैव—
यथा स्वप्नानुभूतार्थान्प्रबुद्धो नैव पश्यति ।
तथा भावनया योगी संसारं नैव पश्यति ॥ इति । तथा
निरस्य सदसद्वृत्तीः संश्रित्य पदमान्तरम् ।
विहाय कल्पनाजालमद्वैतेन परापरम् ।
यः स्वात्मनिरतो नित्यं कालग्रासैकतत्परः ।
कैवल्यपदभाग्योगी स निर्वाणपदं लभेत् ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi., pp. 133-34.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 89, 97, 101, 109.
3. यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
संवित्क्रमं देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।

M.M.P., p. 97.

significance of the word Krama.[1] The obvious conclusion seems to be that this āgama adopted a midway course and alternately subscribed to both the tendencies about the concept of the Absolute in the Krama system.

Certain other views, beside those described above, have come down to us. There were varying opinions about the precise order of the five flows (Pañcavāha) of the Universal Energy. The order followed by Maheśvarānanda was the one laid down by the *Kramasiddhi*.[2] The question has been fully considered in connection with this study on the Pañcavāha. In another passage, the *Kramasiddhi* is represented to have prescribed a specific type of the Pātakrama. The Pātakrama is one of the constituents of the eightfold approach to the Vṛnda Cakra. The Pāta consists in finding out the basic identity between Pañcavāha and Vṛndacakra. But the same may be found to consist in the identity between the five siddhas namely, Jñānasiddhas etc., and the five Absolutic functions ranging from Sṛṣṭi to Bhāsā.[3]

He also explains the logic behind naming a particular power. It is to be recalled that in each of the five powers (Sṛṣṭi etc.) all the five powers are present, yet each of them is so termed as to indicate the most predominant one in the group.

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1. यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
क्कारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मङ्गलो भवेत् ।
क्रोधे तु मङ्गलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥
गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानमाज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।
क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ॥
Ibid., p. 109.

2. तत्र तत्संप्रदायानुगुण्यात् तन्निरुक्तिरूह्या । अस्मत्क्रमस्तु निर्दिष्टक्रम एव । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ······ ॥
M.M.P., p. 89.

3. पंचवाहवृन्दचक्रयोरैकात्म्यानुसन्धानं पात इति पातप्रकारः ।
एवं सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेऽपि पातोऽनुसंधेयः । यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
संवित्क्रमं देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।
सृष्टिं स्थितिं च संहारानाख्याभासास्वरूपकम् ॥
ज्ञानमात्रं च मेलापं शाक्तं शाम्भवसंयुतम् ॥
Ibid., p. 97.

A metaphor will elucidate it. The milk, though present in whole of a cow's body, drips down through her udder only. Likewise, the power of the Lord is all-pervasive and all-inclusive, yet it spreads fully through one power.[1]

All these concepts predominate the later phase of the Krama system. This also testifies to its recency in origin.

With this āgama one comes to the close of the Krama list of the agamas. But this simply shows the limitations of our knowledge and information at this stage. Numerous references, made to and extracts quoted from the anonymous sources, simply labelled as the āgama,[2] will perhaps bear out the above statement.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the āgamas named *Brahmayāmala*, *Tantrarāja Bhaṭṭāraka* etc., have not been included among the Krama āgamas, as has been done in certain quarters.[3] Because in the first place, they belong to the general category of āgamas and, in the second place, the contents of the manuscript of the *Brahmayāmala*, available in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal[4] and the study made by John Woodroffe of the *Tantrarāja*[5] do not present them as exclusive Krama āgamas. It is of course a different matter that they do contain useful material on the Krama system too, but not as the Krama system as such but as a part of the wider tantra literature. We have, therefore, not ventured to dilate on them at the moment.

(b) *Non-Āgamic Krama works*

Here again the proposed discussion will be restricted to the exclusive Krama texts.

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1. तत्तदुद्रिक्तांशोपसंग्रहात् सृष्ट्यादीनाम पृथग्व्यवस्था । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
दोहे व्याप्तं गवि क्षीरं स्तनाभ्यां प्रसृतम् यथा ।
सर्वगा व्यापिनी सूक्ष्मा एकस्मिन् प्रसृता शिवा ॥
M.M.P. p. 101.
2. *Vide*, for instance, *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 132, 171; *M.P.(S)*, p. 45 etc.
3. *Abhi.*, pp. 470-71.
4. MS No. 6392, Catalogue No. 5892, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII (Tantras), Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 94-95.
5. *Tantrarāja Tantra* (A Short analysis), Sir John Woodroffe, with a Preface by Yogī Śuddhānanda Bhāratī, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

(i) *Krama-Sūtra*

About the *Krama-Sūtra* certain remarks have already been made while discussing Kṣemarāja who, for the first time, invites our attention to this text. It was probably written in the Sūtra style as the title and the two extracts go to show. The most significant thing about it seems that it was originally written in the own vernacular of the author.[1] The necessary implication being that the Sanskrit version or rendering cited by him was done either by him or was done in his time. If this hypothesis be true, the *Krama-Sūtra* in its original form might have been an older text than Abhinava. But, in any case, it must belong to the same period as Abhinava does. This also shows that the trend of composing the Krama works in vernaculars, which later on was acknowledged to be a salient feature of the Krama literature, had its seedsin the early stages of the Krama history. The first of the two Sūtras quoted by Kṣemarāja asks the aspirant to consume the objects of the sense which act like fetters, just as the fire set ablaze consumes fuel.[2] The second Sūtra lays down the twofold path towards self-realization. The first, which is characterized by inwardness, is known as the Krama Mudrā. This consists in turning from the outward to the inward. The second, which is called Mudrā-krama, consists in looking from the inward to the outward, that is, in looking upon the worldly objectivity as an expansion of the inner self.[3] Both these types are the spontaneous outcome of Samāveśa. The second Sūtra has been commented upon by Kṣemarāja.[4] Maheśvarānanda also

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1. तदुक्त' पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

P. Hṛ., p. 79.

2. यथा वह्निरुद्‌बोधितो दाह्यं दहति तथा विषयपाशान् भक्षयेत् ।

P.Hṛ., pp. 77-78.

3. यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु—

क्रममुद्रया अंतःस्वरूपया बहिर्मुखः समाविष्टो भवति साधकः । तत्रादौ बाह्यात् अंतःप्रवेशः, आभ्यन्तरात् बाह्यस्वरूपे प्रवेशः, आवेशवशात् जायते—इति सबाह्याभ्यन्तरोऽयं मुद्राक्रमः ।

Ibid., pp. 91-92.

4. अत्रायमर्थः.........।

Ibid., pp. 92-94.

refers to the second Sūtra and quotes it together with its explanation by Kṣemarāja.[1] But it looks quite feasible that Maheśvarānanda did not have the actual text before him, because he does not appear to quote from the original itself but from the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* instead, which contains both the Sūtras as well as its exposition. Moreover, he does not add a word of his own to it.

(ii) *Siddhasūtra*

It is referred to only once in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*). There were two traditions with regard to the proper order in which the various cycles were supposed to succeed one another for the purpose of worship. One of the traditions placed Anākhyācakra immediately after Vṛnda-cakra and discarded the worship of the three cycles such as Sṛṣṭi etc. This was probably the tradition followed by Jayaratha etc. One may infer this from Jayaratha's criticism of the *Mahānayaprakāśa's* attitude as representing opponent's tradition. The *Mahānayaprakāśa* did not agree with his view and maintained that after Vṛnda-cakra these cycles must be worshipped in order to ensure the total completion of Pūjana that results in acquisition of the tremendous capacity. In this context the *Siddha-Sūtra* is quoted in support.[2] It holds that the worship of all these cakras leads to the attainment of the Khecara state. And as a secondary outcome of the self-knowledge one is able to command the Siddhis like Aṇimā etc. on their own accord.

In this connection it is to be specially noted that Śitikaṇṭha also refers to the *Subhāṣita* (pithy or noble sayings) of some Siddha.[3] He has quoted some Siddhapāda earlier. Both,

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1. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु—बाह्यादन्तःप्रवेशः आभ्यन्तराद्वा बाह्यस्वरूपानुप्रवेशः इति। यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन......।

M.M.P., p. 166.

2. अस्मन्मतेऽपि तदपि परिपूर्णार्थमिष्यते ।
एतत्समारूढिवशात् प्रभावो हि प्रवर्तते ।।
पूजनात् खेचरत्वं हि सिद्धसूत्रेषु गण्यते ।
आत्मज्ञानात् प्रवर्तन्ते यथेच्छमणिमादयः ।।

M.P. (*T*), 8.26, 28.

3. तथा च सिद्धस्य सुभाषितम्—पिथिव आपाता तेजु उकारुस ।

M.P. (*S*), pp. 59-60; also see p. 32.

however, appear to be one, owing to the identity of the extracts attributed to them. It is not known if the *Siddha-sūtras* have to do anything with the *Siddha-subhāṣitas*, if one is permitted to present them in this way. The only hurdle seems to be the language. Because, the *Subhāṣitas* have been composed in Prākṛta, whereas the *Siddhasūtra* is apparently a Sanskrit work. However, this is left out as an unsettled question.

The work, in question, belongs to a later date. Śivānanda II, the author of *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*) is assigned to the second and third quarter of the twelfth century. The work, therefore, may be assigned to a slightly earlier period.

(iii) *Mahānaya-paddhati*

It was a minor work and is referred to only once by Maheśvarānanda.[1] It is quoted to substantiate the contention that the external formalities amount to plain mockery. According to it, the strong and abiding reflection on the ultimate reality unobscured by anything constitutes the genuine form of worship. This is a peculiar Krama thesis. In addition, the title of the text goes to prove its Kramic complexion. It might be chronologically slightly anterior to Maheśvarānanda who alone refers to it.

(iv) *Kramodaya*

The *Kramodaya* seems to be an important work. Two extracts from it appear in the *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[2] Amṛtānanda in his *Yoginī-hṛdayadīpikā*[3] refers to it twice, though citing the same passage. Bhāskarācārya in the *Setubandha*[4] commentary on the above also alludes to the work repeating the quotation just mentioned.

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1. इत्यादिनीत्या बाह्याडम्बरः केवलं विडम्बनामात्रफलकतया पर्यवस्यति ।···तथा च श्रीमहानयपद्धतौ—

परमनिरावरणात्मनि रूपे यो दृढतरः परामर्शः ।
पूजनमेतदितीत्थं प्रभुणा निरणायि यद्यपि प्रकृतम् ॥

M.M.P., pp. 111-12.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 50, 87.
3. *Y H.D.*, pp. 266, 283.
4. *Y.H.S B.*, pp. 286.

Its main accent seems to have been ritualistic. However, in one passage it refers to the five limiting conditions of the individual subject as such as Rāga, Kalā etc., due to which the universal self appears as personal self.[1] In the other, he calls upon the aspirant to perform Dūtī-yāga before he embarks upon the worship of nine powers stationed in the body.[2] The stress on ritualism was so predominant that fivefold esoteric worship (Pañcamakāra) seems to have overshadowed other things. Like sex in the former, wine occupies a place of eminence in yet another extract. According to it once the liquor, which is a sort of final oblation (Pūrṇāhuti) and is defined by harmony of 'I' and 'this' experience, gets in, it obliterates the duality; and the resulting pleasure comes to persist even though there is visibly no object to cause pleasure.[3] Hence, it is meant to suggest that one should worship the external cycles only when one's mind has become stable and poised.

In this connection an important point deserves careful attention. The verse quoted by Amṛtānanda and Bhāskararāya

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1. तदुक्तं श्रीक्रमोदये—

   रागो माया कला विद्या नियतिः काल एव च ।
   पञ्चवृत्त्याश्रयाः सर्वे पाशाश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

   M.M.P., p. 50.

2. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं द्योतयितुं ह्यादौ दूतीयजनमारम्भणीयत्वयोद्भाव्यते । यथा श्रीक्रमोदये—

   स्त्रियः सर्वेषु वर्णेषु योगिन्यः स्युर्न संशयः ।
   देहवद् योनिशुद्धिस्तु आत्मवल्लिंगशोधनम् ॥
   योनौ नवाक्षरीं न्यस्य लिंगे सप्तदशाक्षरीम् ।
   गुरुचक्रस्य पूजार्थं कुर्याद् योगिनिमेलनम् ॥
   नवाक्षर्या तु मंत्रेण स्थापयेल्लिङ्गपीठवत् ।
   शिवशक्त्यात्मभावेन पुरुषो मन्थकः स्मृतः ॥
   मन्थयेदात्मनः शक्तिं मधुवच्छुक्लशोणितम् ।

   M.M.P., p. 87.

3. मन्त्रारणिमथनसम्भूतं इदन्ताहन्तासामरस्यरूपं मद्यरूपं घृतपूर्णाहुतिं बहुशो हुत्वा परिस्फुरत्परमानन्दो भवेदित्यान्तरपूर्णाहुतिः । अतएव—

   प्रविष्टेऽन्तः सिन्धुरसे भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।
   स्थैर्यमेति चमत्कारं विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥ इति

   क्रमोदयोक्तरीत्या मनसि स्थिरीभूते बाह्यचक्रार्चनं कुर्यादित्याह — ।

   Y.H.D., p. 266; also see, pp. 283, 286.

also occurs with little modification in the *Mahānayaprakāśa(T)*.[1] It forms part of the text and there is absolutely no hint of its having been borrowed from some other source. The first ever mention of the *Kramodaya* which finds in Mahesvarānanda and Amṛtānanda is not far away from him, hence the *Kramodaya* does not seem to be an old text. Maheśvarānanda also refers to the *Mahānayaprakāśa* That means the two were different works. Now the question is which is the borrower. The whole situation is confusing. The answer depends upon another question—which work is earlier ? If the *Kramodaya* is earlier the *Mahānayaprakāśa* must have borrowed from it, and if later, the *Kramodaya* must be the borrower. But, since (i) Śivānanda II. the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, belongs to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century, (ii) the *Kramodaya* is earliest referred to towards the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, and (iii) the verse in question is a part of the text and fits well in the context and conforms to the construction of the text, one may be tempted, for the time-being, to conclude that it is *Kramodaya* which appears to have borrowed from the *Mahānayaprakāśa(T)*.

(v) *Amāvasyātriṁśikā*

The *Amāvasyātriṁśikā* seems to be an important text of the age of decadence. It was produced during the lull between Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭha who refers to it.[2] What was the real purport behind such nomenclature is a matter of guess today. Either it contained thirty verses or, like the *Parātriṁśikā*, dealt with the three Absolutic powers. Śitikaṇṭha has elsewhere quoted a verse bringing out the etymological meaning of the word Amāvasyā.[3] The verse is self-explanatory. What is important to note in this connection is that Ramyadeva describes

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1. प्रविष्टेऽन्तः शीघुर (सं?से) भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।
स्थैर्यमेति चमत्कारो विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥
M.P.(T), 9.43

2. *M.P.(S)*. pp. 9, 13.

3. अमा नाम रवे रश्मिर्यस्या वसति चन्द्रमाः ।
अमायां वसते यस्मादमावस्या रवतः स्मृता ॥
Ibid., p. 82.

the Krama system as the one steeped in or infused by the idea of Amāvasyā.[1] It, therefore, appears fairly certain to take this work as belonging to the Krama system.

This work was probably more famous as the *Saṁvāda*, because the first of the three verses quoted from the *Amāvasyā-triṁśikā* has been attributed to the *Saṁvāda*.[2] Otherwise, *Saṁvāda* as a loose expression stands for a dialogue or discourse. A perusal of the extract reveals that the book probably owed its name to the three aspects of the ultimate power of the Lord, the three aspects being Will, Knowledge and Action. The present judgement is based on the second verse of the passage. In other words it speaks of the transcendence-plus-immanence, all-pervasiveness, infinitude, ubiquity and equanimity of the Absolute. The innate power of the Lord is all-powerful and, though one in herself, she accounts for the multiplicity by virtue of Her constituting the powers such as Will, Knowledge and Action. But this duality is nothing but functional when She is at work. Otherwise on retiring from activity, She rests in Śiva, the infinite Absolute and principle of harmony, holding these differences back in Herself.[3]

The esoteric idea of the Amāvasyā came into existence with reference to the Krama system with Ramyadeva who

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1. शाक्तैरर्ककरैर्महाकालसंकर्षिणीकिरणैः चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषरसचर्वणेन······अमावस्यावासना-
वासितः कोऽपि संप्रदायः उट्टंकितः ।

B.U.V., p. 29.

2. विश्रामस्थानम् परमात्मा महार्थः । तथा चोक्तम् संवादे—
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च सर्वव्यापी महेश्वरः ॥
इति स एव महार्थनामा ।

M.P.(*S*), pp. 13-14.

3. तथा च आमावस्यात्रिंशिकायाम् —
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च व्यापी सर्वेश्वरेश्वरः ॥
तस्यापि सहजा शक्तिः सर्वशक्तिमयी परा ।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्वेन सैवेका बहुधा स्थिता ॥
तस्या उदितरूपाया ये भेदा कार्यतो गताः ।
तानन्तस्तु समाहृत्य सामरस्ये शिवे स्थिता ॥ इति ।

M.P.(*S*), pp. 9-10

belongs to the first half of the 12th century. And it is referred to by Śitikaṇṭha, who flourished at the threshold of the 15th-16th century. The work, therefore, may be placed somewhere during this intervening period.

(vi) *Rājikā*

This seems to be a minor work of very late origin and has been mentioned once only by Śitikaṇṭha. As to the nature of the contents, it will suffice to say that it dealt with the real character of the great Yāga, otherwise known as Madhya-yāga also. It has three varieties namely, gross, subtle and the ultimate. In the first stage mind, intellect and ego-feeling are withdrawn in order to put an end to the emergence of mental uprisings (Cittavṛttis). In the second round the vital airs are withdrawn. Ultimately Prakṛti, the principle of pure awareness, makes an anxious present of herself to the Lord finding Him half-satiated. This is the land of unison, harmony. It is in this connection a verse is cited from the *Rājikā*.[1] In the *Viveka*, Jayaratha refers to certain Rahasyarājikāyoginīs who were blessed, due to the grace of Divinity, with a beatific vision and attainment of true knowledge. What one is not supposed to miss in this context is that Rājikāyoginīs have been referred to as belonging to the "different" system. Since the context is primarily occupied with the Kula system, the 'different' system means "other than the Kula". Hence, in the Kula context these Rājikāyoginīs are to be remembered only and not worshipped.[2] It is not known if the Rājikāyoginīs and the *Rājikā* text are correlated. This episode also lends an additional weight to the thesis that it is most likely a Krama text.

Like its predecessor it also belongs to an age prior to Śitikaṇṭha.

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1. स्थूलसूक्ष्मपरस्त्रेधा मध्ययागः, सामरस्यभूश्चेयम्, तथा च श्रीराजिकायाम्—

   भुक्त्वा विश्वमशेषं तृप्ति न यदागतः कुलेशानः ।
   देव्या तदा स्वदेहश्चरुरत्र निवेदितः कुलाधिपतेः ॥

   इति तांश्चतुरो निवेद्य आकुलीभूता आत्मानं परावाग्रूपं समरसीभावयति इति उपहारार्थः ।

   M.P. (*S*), p 55.

2. श्रीरहस्यराजिकायोगिनीभिः स्वभावाद् भगवत्याः प्रसादेन दृष्टं विग्रहाज्ज्ञानं लब्धम्...। तदमूर्तत्वादिह ते केवलं स्मर्तव्या एव, न तु विशेषात् सम्पूज्याः पूर्वगुरुभिस्तथा नोपदिष्टा इत्यर्थः ।

   T.A.V., XI, p. 33 (Ah. 29).

CHAPTER VII

KRAMA'S PLACE IN THE WIDER FRAMEWORK OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM WITH AN EYE UPON ITS GENERAL TANTRIC CHARACTER

A synthetic approach to correlation between basic structure of Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism vis-à-vis *sixfold Artha and fourfold Upāya and its bearing on the Krama system.*

1. *Overall Perspective of Synthesis between Śaiva Metaphysics and Tantricism*

Throughout all these pages an attempt has been made to point out and gauge the quantum of the contribution made by the Krama system to the cause of metaphysics and mysticism of monism against the background of its twin personalities condensed into one. These two aspects are its being a part of the philosophical complex known as Kashmir Śaivism in the first place and, at the same time, retaining the general Tantric character in the second place. In this section, therefore, our main task would be to see how this synthesis is arrived at. In other words, an effort will be made to examine the perspective in which the sixfold Tantric approach defined by the Arthas is coordinated with or corresponds to the fourfold approach of the Kashmir Śaivism spelt by the Upāyas And in so doing the place of Krama is to be determined in this perspective.

2. *Jayaratha's Consistent Approach to the Problem*

Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha, the two savants of the Krama system, take up the issue. Maheśvarānanda regards the Mahārtha or Krama system as the ultimate among all the philosophical disciplines and the culminating point of all the

six stages of Tantric culture.[1] But this is hardly a scientific approach. In fact it is dismissing outright the very issue out of the doctrinal enthusiasm. Jayaratha, on the contrary, is very balanced, logical and to the point [2] The subsequent observations are, therefore, drawn from him.

3. *Sixfold Artha Defining the Six Approaches to Tantric Understanding*

The six ways or approaches to the understanding of the Tantra, as outlined by the *Yoginī-hṛdaya*, are—(i) Bhāvārtha. (ii) Sampradāyārtha, (iii) Nigarbhārtha, (iv) Kaulikārtha, (v) Sarvarahasyārtha, and (vi) Mahātattvārtha.[3] All being technical concepts it is no use rendering them into the English language. Let us see what they stand for.

Jayaratha, at the very outset, cautions that thetraditionalists should not look for the reproduction of the orthodox and conventional views. He is approaching them entirely from the point of view of their precise implications.[4] Except the methodology, he toes the line adopted by the *Yoginī-hṛdaya Tantra*.[5]

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1. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेन उपक्रान्तो
 भावार्थ: सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिक:।
 तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥
 इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेद-क्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽर्थ: प्राप्यं तत्त्वम्...इति ।
 M.M.P., p. 183.
2. *V.M.V.*, pp. 136-140.
3. भावार्थ: सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिक: ।
 तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥
 एवमेतन्महेशानि षड्विधं पारमेश्वरम् ।
 व्याख्यानं सर्वतन्त्राणां पारम्पर्येण लभ्यते ॥
 (Quoted from *Y.H.* 2.15) *V.M.V.*, p. 136.
4. इह.. इत्याद्युक्तं व्याख्यानं प्रतिपदं षोढा क्रियमाणं ग्रन्थविस्तराधानमात्रफलमिदानीं तात्पर्यमात्रगत्या उच्यते ।
 V.M.V., pp. 136-137.
5. यदागम:.
 अक्षरार्थो हि भावार्थ: केवल: परमेश्वरि ।
 संप्रदायो महाबोधरूपो गुरुमुखस्थित:। ।
 निगर्भोऽपि महादेवि शिवगुर्वात्मगोचर: ।
 कौलिक: स्वात्मसंवित्तिरात्मसंवित्तिपूर्वक: ॥
 रहस्यार्थो महागुप्तस्सद्य: प्रत्ययकारक: ।
 महापरमतत्त्वार्थ: परमात्मवदास्थित: ॥

Bhāvārtha consists in the literal meaning according to the intention of the speaker at the time. It may even belong to the other sciences than the Tantra proper. The same, despite its externality, is to be regarded as *Saṁpradāyārtha*, if it is meant for enlightenment owing to the exposition of self-knowledge etc. The only conditions it must comply with are that it should be consistent with the Śaiva teachings and uncensured by the teachers. Vedic passages like "आत्मा वा रे ज्ञातव्यो मन्तव्यः" and "सकृद् विभातोऽयमात्मा" furnish fine examples of the same. But there is one difficulty. The self in the above quoted passages is represented to have shone only once (Sakṛdvibhāta), whereas Śiva is a continuously manifest principle. Similarly, these passages depict the self as knowable (Jñātavya) and thus reduce it to the status of an object. Consequently it would deserve its reference as 'this' instead of 'I', while the self-luminous Śiva is always a subject, an agent. According to Jayaratha no fundamental incongruity is involved here. In fact, Śiva, the principle of reality, never forsakes its agenthood even when he manifests the objectivity within because the objective multiplicity is an expression of his unfettered freedom. Since Śiva himself becomes an object, there is no discrepancy if he is referred to by 'this' pronoun.[1] The viewing of the manifold variety as essentially one with Śiva becomes possible only when objectivity is there. It is why the third type named *Nigarbhārtha* consists in its emphasis on realisation of the internal character of multiplicity as Śiva by the pure self[2] which may be Śiva, the teacher, or the aspiring self. If this process is continued, a stage comes

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शिवगुर्वात्मसंवादरूपेणार्थविभासकः ।
निरस्तसर्वसंकल्पविकल्पस्थितिपूर्वकः ॥
विद्यापीठनिबद्धेषु संस्थितः पिण्डसिद्धिदः ॥

Quoted from *Y.H.*, *Ibid*, pp. 138-39.

1. Cp. स्वातन्त्र्यामुक्तमात्मानं स्वातन्त्र्यादद्वयात्मनः ।
प्रभुरीशादिसंकल्पैर्निर्माय व्यवहारयेत् ॥
I.P.K., 1.5.16.

2. Cp. आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वृतचिद्वपुः ।
अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः ॥
Ś.Dṛ., 1.2.

when the Universal Self is instinctively realized as principle of self-luminous pure awareness even in our empirical and phenomenal experiences. Since the prius of such awareness is self and the same is technically known as Kula,[1] the fourth type passes by the name of *Kaulikārtha*.[2]

In the above noted stages what happens is that the emphasis is gradually shifted from 'this' to 'I'. In the first instance, the aspirant has to exert himself to realize this identity, whereas in the second this identity of the self with objectivity itself becomes a fact of experience. Here, too, once this process is rigorously pursued further, immediate self-revelation takes place—the objectivity not being identified with but transformed into pure subjectivity.[3] Since it is impossible for an unaccomplished layman to appreciate it, it is termed as *Rahasyārtha* (Secret meaning), the fifth type. When even this stage is transcended and pure, alogical, irrelational immediacy prevails and there being no further destiny, it is designated as *Mahā-paramatattvārtha*,[4] the sixth type.

4. *Synthesis between six Arthas and four Upāyas arrived at*

Now, it may be noted that the first two stages, types or approaches obviously find an analogue in the Āṇava Upāya[5] which, with the aid of external means, tries to unfold the aspirant's real nature. The extrinsic means include, *inter alia*,

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1. कुलमात्मस्वरूपं तु......।

V.M.V., p. 138.

2. Cp. स्वात्मैव सर्वजन्तूनाम् एक एव महेश्वरः ।
विश्वरूपोऽहमिदमित्यखण्डामर्शबृंहितः ॥

I.P.K., 4.1.1.

3. Cp. ततः स्फुटतमोदारताद्रूप्यपरिबृंहिता ।
संविदभ्येति विमलाविकल्पस्वरूपताम् ॥

T.A., 4.6.

4. Cp. तेषामिदं समाभाति सर्वतो भावमण्डलम् ।
पुरःस्थमेव संवित्तिभैरवाग्निविलापितम् ॥

T.A., 2.35.

5. इदं च द्विविधमपि व्याख्यानं वर्णाद्यात्माणवोपायरूपम् ।

V.M.V., p. 137.

usage of sacred syllables etc. Similarly, Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha find their counterpart in the Śāktopāya[1] because the Śāktopāya consists in processes designed to achieve the refinement of Vikalpas (logical constructions) The purification of logical construction or dualistic consciousness, by definition, means a thorough overhauling of the perspective with reference to objectivity. In simple words, the Śāktopāya consists in realising 'this' as an expression of 'I' (Sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ). Yet, despite this transformation, the Vikalpa remains. The Śāktopāya elevates the relation of duality into that of unity and harmony, but the relation itself does not vanish. Therefore, then comes Śāmbhava which corresponds to the fifth type i.e., Rahasyārtha or Sarvarahasyārtha and consists in the indeterminate self-realization.[2] And the last stage i.e., Mahāparamatattvārtha is equalled by Anupāya which is the reality *per se*—Awareness pure and simple. In fact Śāmbhava and Anupāya are not generally distinguished because the Anupāya reflects the highest stage of the Śāmbhava. In that case the Śāmbhava would stand for both of the final types.

5. *Conclusion : Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha Versus Sāktopāya i.e., Krama*

Thus we see how the synthesis between the fundamental structure of the Kashmir Śaivism and that of the Tantra in general is brought about. It is to be noted that Krama is generally identified with Śāktopāya. Hence Śāktopāya on the one hand and Nigarbhārtha along with Kaulikārtha on the other, provide the common ground where the Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism meet. It is, however, beyond the scope of this section to go into the intricacies of the Śāktopāya etc., because the same is taken up for detailed analysis in the very first chapter of the philosophical study. These lines are, therefore, intended

1. एतदपि प्रकारद्वयं विकल्पसंस्क्रियारूपतया शाक्तोपायात्मकम् ।
Ibid., p. 138.

2. रहस्यशब्दाभिहितः शाम्भवोपायात्मा पंचमः ।
V.M.V., p. 133.

to serve as a preliminary to the following section. But for Jayaratha it would not have been possible to find out the traditional, yet logical, attitude towards the two independent literatures—Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism—which have more points of contact than those of departure.

APPENDIX "B"

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* While taking notes, the publication years, in some cases, have escaped notice.

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APPENDIX 'C'

Name Index

*Actually it is Nagarajan, Nataranjan is a misprint.

APPENDIX 'D'

Work Index

APPENDIX 'E'

Subject Index

CORRECTIONS

Page	*Foot note if any*	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
4		14	works. The fact	works. Because of the fact
23		17	word	Word
30		7	Kālinaya	Kālinaya[2]
39		11	tantra	Tantra
52		3	the palpitate	to palpitate
53	1	3	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(delete)
53	2	1	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(Add after शक्तीनाम्)
67		2	to divergent	to excite divergent
70		16	etc.[4] In	etc.[4], in
72	4	1	cf. fn. 1, p. 55 supra	Cf. fn. 2 supra
96		18	1149 A.D.	1155 A.D.
104		11	1000 A.D.	1020 A.D.
109	1	1	Sp. K.	S.S.
112		20	960	950
114	3	3	I.P.V., III, p. 312	I.P.V.V., II, p. 312
122		22	—	(Add after 'different' :) "Moreover the 2nd Eraka is referred to as father of some Vāmanātha while the first one kept celibate throughout his life. As such, their identity appears quite remote."
122	3	1	p. 1:1	p. 121
132		29	incomplete texts	complete text
143		20	Sārdaśatika	Sārdhaśatika
151		2	word	work
167		1-2	it is to single out	it is difficult to single out
171		24	works[8]	works
171		28	pronouncements	pronouncements[8]
172		1	claim[1]. In the last verse of his Spanda Saṁdoha[2]	claim. In the last verse of his Spanda Sandoha[1]
172		10	Stavacintāmaṇi	Stavacintāmaṇi[2]
181		9	and 1075—	and 1050 —
181	5	1	Abhi., p. 473	Abhi., p. 473, Cf. Fn. 2 on p. 178 supra
193		11	Laṅkaṭa	Laṅkāra
194		5	Loṣadeva	Loṣṭhadeva
205	5	3	Y.H.D., p. 68	6. Y.H.D., p. 68
209	3	2	निरवधं	निरवद्यं
210		15	1151 A.D.	1155 A.D.
210		28	(See p. 211)	(See p. 212)
212		2	be little	be a little
215	3	1	देशिकृष्ट्या	देशिकदृष्ट्या
215	6	2	रेतान्धाः	रेतोधाः
230	1	6	भस्माङ्गभूषणा	भस्माङ्गभूषण
236		4-5	Śivānanda (the author, of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*)	Śivānanda II (the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*))